

**File #:**

62-HQ-116395

**Serial Scope:**

Bulky 789

62- HQ-116395

Serial 789



62-HQ-116395-789

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SSC LETTER 7/8/75  
ITEM # 2

*Doc 789*

JFK Law 10(a)1



JFK Law 10(a)1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Wick       | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| Felt       | _____ |
| Gale       | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 10, 1967

FROM : C. D. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. R. E. Wick
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. D. M. Wells

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS - A CURRENT ANALYSIS

## PURPOSE:

To obtain authorization for high level dissemination of a document captioned as above which shows the degree of communist influence on Martin Luther King.

Enclosed is a document captioned as above, which depicts communist influence in the civil rights field, emphasizing the key role of Martin Luther King, Jr. This document is a current revision of the previous analysis captioned "Communism and the Negro Movement - A Current Analysis," prepared and disseminated in November, 1964. In updating it, we have emphasized these areas: (1) continued reliance of King upon former Communist Party, USA, members, particularly Stanley David Levison; (2) facts relating to King's moral degeneracy; and (3) communist goal of uniting the peace and civil rights movements and King's adherence to this communist long-range objective.

King's strong criticism and condemnation of the Administration's policy on Vietnam in a speech he made at New York on 4/4/67 shows how much he has been influenced by communist advisors. His speech was a direct parallel of the communist position on Vietnam.

It is felt that the President would be interested in a summary on King which shows the degree of communist influence on him. The attached paper constitutes a complete picture and strong indictment of King in that regard.

## RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is recommended that

- (1) The attached letters, with enclosures, to the White House and the Attorney General be forwarded to Assistant to the Director DeLoach for transmittal to Mrs. Mildred Stegall, the White House, and the Attorney General.

Enclosure  
100-442529

RLS:DMW/jav/cst.

CONTINUED - OVER 10 MAY 16 1967

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

5 6 MAY 22 1967

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL  
MATTERS - A CURRENT ANALYSIS  
100-442529

(2) The attached letters, with enclosures, to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the Secret Service be forwarded to the Liaison Section for transmittal.

*Small  
not  
done*

*to Weis*

*P*

*RM*

*✓*

*GH*

*✓*

SSC Letter, 7/8/75 -- Item 2a

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
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| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 11/26/62

FROM : A. H. Belmont *ahb*

cc Mr. Belmont  
 Mr. Sullivan  
 Mr. DeLoach  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. McGowan

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION, Albany, Ga.,  
 RACIAL MATTERS (Article by  
 Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
 critical of FBI) *HT/2.2.62*

Reference is made to the memorandum from Mr. Rosen to Mr. Belmont, 11/20/62 (copy attached), referring to the article of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., criticizing the work of the FBI in relation to the Albany situation. The question has been raised as to whether we should not try to talk to King and set him straight as to the Bureau's approach and activities.

At the outset, it should be stated that it is questionable whether an interview with King will be fruitful. *some time ago*  
~~We have picked up information in the past that King admits to being a Marxist, but cannot afford to admit this publicly.~~ *intell copy*  
 We know of his close tie-in with Hunter Pitts Odell, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, and we have seen various instances where King received advice and his actions were apparently controlled, at least to some extent, by the Communist Party.

On the other hand, we do know that King has been in touch with the Attorney General from time to time, and in view of the public image he has built up as a Negro leader he may fancy himself as a leader using the assistance of, but independent of, the Communist Party.

(1) Mr. DeLoach feels that it would be desirable to interview King. He recommends that he and Assistant Director Sullivan jointly interview King. He feels that two Bureau representatives should interview King in order that there will be a witness and there can be no charge of provincialism inasmuch as DeLoach comes from the South and Mr. Sullivan comes from the North.

EX - 116

REC-4

*154-4-2-763*

(2) Mr. Sullivan feels that King should be interviewed. He feels, however, that if two Bureau representatives approach King, King will be immediately on the defensive and no progress will be made. He feels that King should be interviewed, initially, on a broad basis,

AHB:CSH (6)  
 Enclosure  
**ENCLOSURE**

*memo DeLoach to Sullivan 11/26/62*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to any other personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

2-1  
 12 JAN 2 1963

67 FEB 6 - 1963

Mr. Tolson

showing the Bureau's understanding of the racial and sociological problems of the Negro, and thereafter the Bureau's position should be built into this frame of reference. He believes that either Mr. DeLoach or himself should undertake the interview, individually.

(3) Mr. Sullivan suggests a third alternative. He is very well acquainted with Dr. Douglas Jackson, a well known sociologist (white) and a member of the faculty of Southern Methodist University in Dallas. Dr. Jackson is known to Sullivan as a man thoroughly and soundly interested in solving the racial question in the South. He is well known in different Negro areas for the stand that he has taken and he is respected by them. Additionally, Dr. Jackson has been quite interested in the work of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which King is president.

Jackson has told Sullivan, as recently as a week and a half ago in Indianapolis, that if he at any time can do anything which would assist the FBI he should simply make the request of him. Sullivan believes we should also give consideration to having Dr. Jackson approach King and discuss this whole matter with him very thoroughly, from a racial and sociological point of view, and ultimately clarify in this discussion King's ideas on the FBI, and lay the groundwork for King's support of the FBI. Sullivan would be perfectly willing to brief Jackson on this entire matter and set the machinery in motion, if it is so desired.

RECOMMENDATION:

The above three courses of action are set forth for the Director's consideration. I personally favor #2.

I favor #1  
D. 11/26

Suggest Sullivan and DeLoach handle. 2

Don  
11/26

I agree  
Yes  
H.

Handwritten initials: "Hrd 2"

Mr. Belmont

11/20/62

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin

A. Rosen

**RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA  
RACIAL MATTERS**

An article has appeared in the "Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, on 11/19/62 which article was taken from the "New York Times." In the article, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., stated he agreed with the report written by Howard Zinn issued by the Southern Regional Council concerning the recent racial situation in Albany, Georgia. The report referred to criticized the work of this Bureau in relation to the Albany situation. King has stated among other things that "Agents of the FBI in Albany, Georgia, sided with segregationists."

There are no facts to support this and it is noteworthy that the comments by King would appear to dovetail with information which has been furnished to this Bureau indicating that King's advisers are Communist Party (CP) members and he is under the domination of the CP.

King is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and it should be noted that on 10/23/62 a communist infiltration investigation of this organization was initiated. (100-438794)

DETAILS:

The "New York Times" quoted King as stating he agreed with report issued 11/14/62 by the Southern Regional Council that the FBI had not been vigorous in looking into denials of civil rights in Albany and the surrounding areas. He stated "Agents of the FBI in Albany, Georgia, sided with segregationists." "One of the great problems we face with the FBI in the South, "according to Reverend Mr. King, "is that the Agents are white southerners who have been influenced by the mores of their community. To maintain their status they have to be friendly with the local police and people who are promoting segregation. Every time I saw FBI men in Albany they were with the local police force." It should be noted there are five Agents assigned to the Albany, Georgia, Resident Agency. One is from Indiana, one is from Massachusetts, one is from New York, one is from Minnesota and one is from Georgia.

157-6-2

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

RBL:cag  
(9)

**ENCLOSURE**

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: RACIAL SITUATION

Howard Zinn, the author of the report for the Southern Regional Council, was mentioned in my memorandum 11/15/62 and has been the subject of a security investigation by this Bureau (100-380217). Zinn was reportedly a member of the CP from 1949 through 1953 and attended CP meetings during that period. Zinn is a history professor at Spellman College in Atlanta. It was the second slanted and biased document written by Zinn on the Albany situation.

Reverend Mr. King is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who arose to prominence during the 1955 - 1956 successful boycott which ended bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama. He has been active in Negro segregation matters since that time.

NY 694-S\*, a top-level informant, has advised that Stanley Levison, a secret CP member, sent word to Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP USA, during February, 1962, that King is a wholehearted Marxist who had studied it, believed in it and agrees with it. He cannot, however, publicly espouse it in view of his position as a minister of religion. Levison is an Associate Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and is actively involved in the operations of that organization.

The New York representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is Hunter Pitts O'Dell who was elected under a pseudonym, Cornelius James, to the National Committee of the CP USA in December, 1959. On 3/7/62 James Jackson then Editor of "The World" told NY 694-S\* that an article attributed to King in the 3/3/62 issue of "The Nation" magazine was actually written by O'Dell. The article was captioned, "Fumbling on the New Frontier," and purports to be a report on Civil Rights.

NY 694-S\* advised that Lement Harris, CP USA functionary, had commented that Stanley Levison by reason of his association with the Martin Luther King Movement was doing the most important work in the CP at that time. Harris stated "The party has the Kennedys in its pocket" since the Kennedy Administration is politically dependent upon King. This was furnished to the White House and to the Attorney General on 5/4/62.

NY 3580-S\* advised on 8/7/62 that while in conversation with O'Dell, Levison asked how things were in Albany, Georgia. O'Dell replied that there was a leadership problem down there and things could get quite disorganized if "our" staff was not there.



Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
REF: RACIAL SITUATION

*TSR*  
On 9/10/62 NY 3580-S\* advised that on the afternoon of that date Clarence Jones, a member of the Labor Youth League in 1954 (a cited organization) and Levison were discussing burning of churches in the South, both expressed the opinion that King should not be silent in this matter but should send a hot wire to "Kennedy" expressing his indignance at the Government's failure to control one small community. This was furnished to the Attorney General on 9/11/62.

RECOMMENDATION:

Consideration has been given to contacting King to straighten him out; however, this seems undesirable in view of the above facts and it is recommended he not be contacted.

The background information regarding King, Levison and Zinn has been furnished to the Department.

Nothing would seem to be gained by contacting the "New York Times" or the "Atlanta Constitution" as we obviously cannot give them background data we possess on the CP influence of King.

The Department and the Attorney General have been publicly criticized on many occasions by King and yet they are cooperating with him.

It is recommended that the Liaison Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division bring King's comments in the article to the attention of Staff Director Berl L. Bernhard of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and point out to him that there is no basis in fact for King's remarks and in addition point out that 4 of the 5 Resident Agents assigned at Albany, Georgia, are from northern states and one is from Georgia.

ACTION:

*✓ Being done*  
That this memorandum be referred to the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate handling.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

DATE: January 15, 1963

SUBJECT: RACIAL SITUATION, Albany, Ga.,  
RACIAL MATTERS (Article by  
 Martin Luther King, Jr., *Atlanta*  
 critical of FBI)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Belmont's memorandum of November 26, 1962, reflected the alternatives in interviewing Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had criticized the work of the FBI in relation to the Albany situation. The Director approved the suggestion that Mr. Sullivan and I handle the interview with Rev. King.

Following approval, I immediately tried to contact Rev. King telephonically on November 27, 1962.

Rev. King does not have a phone at his residence. We then attempted to contact him at his church in Atlanta. His secretary advised, upon being told who was trying to contact him, that Rev. King was "off in another building writing a book." She further stated that Rev. King preferred not to be disturbed and that it would be impossible to talk to him. That same day I called the SAC at Atlanta and instructed him to attempt to contact Rev. King and set up an interview for Mr. Sullivan and me. SAC Atlanta advised the following day, November 28, that Rev. King had left instructions with his secretary that he did not have time for an interview, that he was moving around the country. The secretary further advised the SAC that Rev. King would call us when he was willing to sit down for an interview. Rev. King has not called since that date.

It would appear obvious that Rev. King does not desire to be told the true facts. He obviously used deceit, lies and treachery as propoganda to further his own causes.

Realizing the above, I recommended, the Director approved, that I talk with Mr. MacKay, publisher of the four Afro-American newspapers. This interview was handled and reported by memorandum. The interview was based on the fact that the Afro-American newspapers had published Rev. King's lies, quoting him exclusively. In talking with Mr. MacKay I carefully went over each allegation by Rev. King and set him straight with respect to these lies. MacKay offered no

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

EX-114

REC-21

*over* 157-6-2-965

12 JAN 27 1963

CDD:ejr (7)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-6-2-965

Memo DeLoach to Mohr  
Re: Racial Situation, Albany, Ga.,  
Racial Matters (Article by  
Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
critical of FBI)

1/15/63

argument and in the following week's issue of his newspapers quoted us for the record. A letter was also prepared to John H. Sengstacke, Publisher, "Chicago Defender," dated November 29, 1962, (copy attached) setting the record straight. Sengstacke, whom we know most favorably, published the letter putting the lie to Rev. King's allegations. *Handled separately*

ACTION:

The record concerning Rev. King's allegations has been covered. Interviews with the publishers of the newspapers who carried Rev. King's lies have been conducted and they have been set straight. I see no further need to contacting Rev. King inasmuch as he obviously does not desire to be given the truth. The fact that he is a vicious liar is amply demonstrated in the fact he constantly associates with and takes instructions from Stanley Levison who is a hidden member of the Communist Party in New York.

*V. K. [unclear]*  
*WCS*  
*D. 1/15*  
*concur.*  
*J*

The Attorney General

January 18, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Evans

RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA  
RACIAL MATTERS

Numerous attempts have been made by officials of this Bureau to contact Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., to point out to him the inaccuracies in his unfounded allegations about the work of this Bureau in connection with Albany, Georgia, which allegations appeared in the November 19, 1962, issue of "The New York Times." It is obvious to the Bureau that Reverend Mr. King has evaded contact and has no desire to be told the true facts concerning this situation.

An attempt was made by an official of this Bureau to contact Reverend Mr. King on November 27, 1962. Upon learning the identity of the caller, his secretary advised that Reverend Mr. King was "off in another building writing a book." She further stated that he preferred not to be disturbed and it would be impossible to talk with him. (157-6-2-965)

Another attempt was made on November 28, 1962, and it was ascertained that Reverend Mr. King had left instructions with his secretary that he would not have time for an interview and that he was moving around the country. The secretary further advised that Reverend Mr. King would call this Bureau when he was willing to sit down for an interview. He has not called since that date.

Attached for your information is a copy of a letter to Mr. Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director, Commission on Civil Rights, 726 Jackson Place, Northwest, Washington, D. C., pointing out to him Reverend Mr. King's conduct in this matter.

MAILED 44  
 JAN 18 1963  
 COMM-FBI

JAN 19 11 36 AM '63  
 RECV-READING ROOM

REC-1  
 Ref

911 - X  
 REC-43  
 157-6-2-965  
 19 JAN 18 1963  
 DIVISION OF INVESTIGATION

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malley \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RBL: cag

(14)

SEE MEMO ROSEN TO BELMONT, ABOVE CAPTION, 1/17/63, RBL: cag.

67 JAN 18 1963  
 This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

**The Attorney General**

As I have pointed out in my letter to Mr. Bernhard, in view of Reverend Mr. King's evasive conduct, no further attempts are being undertaken by this Bureau to contact him.

**Enclosure**

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Evans

REC-21

157-62-965

EX-114

Date: January 18, 1963

To: Mr. Berl I. Bernhard  
Staff Director  
Commission on Civil Rights  
726 Jackson Place, Northwest  
Washington, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: RACIAL SITUATION  
ALBANY, GEORGIA  
RACIAL MATTERS

In connection with the allegations made by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., which appeared in the November 19, 1962, issue of "The New York Times" following his interview by a reporter on November 18, 1962, which allegations have been previously brought to your attention, I wish to inform you that numerous attempts have been made by officials of this Bureau to contact Reverend Mr. King to point out the inaccuracies in his unfounded allegations concerning the work performed by this Bureau in connection with the Albany, Georgia, situation.

It is now obvious to this Bureau, due to the evasive tactics of Reverend Mr. King, that he has no desire to be told the true facts concerning this situation. As an instance of his insincerity, an attempt was made by an official of this Bureau to contact Reverend Mr. King on November 27, 1962. Upon learning the identity of the caller, his secretary advised that Reverend Mr. King was "off in another building writing a book." She further stated that he preferred not to be disturbed and it would be impossible to talk with him.

RBL: cag

(11)

SEE MEMO ROSEN TO BELMONT, ABOVE CAPTION,

THIS MEMO IS IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST AND IS NOT FOR DISSEMINATION OUTSIDE YOUR COMMITTEE. ITS USE IS LIMITED TO OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS BY YOUR COMMITTEE AND THE CONTENT MAY NOT BE DISCLOSED TO UNAUTHORIZED PERSONNEL WITHOUT THE EXPRESS APPROVAL OF THE FBI.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FEB 6 1963

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard

Another attempt was made on November 28, 1962, and it was ascertained that Reverend Mr. King had left instructions with his secretary that he would not have time for an interview and that he was moving around the country. The secretary further advised that Reverend Mr. King would call this Bureau when he was willing to sit down for an interview. He has not called since that date.

In view of Reverend Mr. King's evasive conduct in this matter, no further attempts are being undertaken by this Bureau to contact him.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
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| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. Mohr *[Signature]*

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: December 1, 1964

An individual who identified himself as Dr. Andrew Young, Executive Assistant to Martin Luther King, called from New York City at 12:05 p.m. today and asked to speak with me.

D.C.

Dr. Young stated I probably knew what he was calling about. I told him I did if he was calling with reference to Reverend King's request for an appointment with Mr. Hoover. I mentioned that the Acting Attorney General had called this morning about this matter and that I had just advised the Acting Attorney General that Mr. Hoover would see Reverend King at 3:30 p.m. today. Dr. Young stated this would press them a bit, however, he thought they could make it.

Dr. Young stated that Reverend King wanted to talk about law enforcement in the future. He stated they have several programs at Selma, Alabama, and in the Blackbelt Countys surrounding Selma. He stated this might be a bad time for Reverend King to be discussing matters; however, they feel that they have been negligent in that they have contacted the Department in the past and have not set down with the FBI.

Dr. Young stated that Reverend King merely wanted to sit down with Mr. Hoover and discuss matters. He stated that Reverend King did not desire to complain but merely to find out what type of protection the FBI will offer Negro citizens when they attempt to exercise their rights in the future. I interrupted Dr. Young at this point and stated I felt certain that both he and Reverend King fully understood that the FBI did not have the authority or jurisdiction to "protect" anyone and that if Reverend King was seeking a change in policy in this regard he should talk to the Acting Attorney General and not Mr. Hoover. Dr. Young made no reference to this statement but spoke up again and stated that there had been a breach and misunderstanding between Reverend King's organization and the FBI in the past and that this was a matter they did not want to encourage.

REC-44

100-106670-570

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Miss Gandy
- 1 - Miss Holmes
- 1 - Mr. Jones

13 DEC 4 1964

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

CDD:saj  
(8)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

60 DEC 16 1964



DeLoach to Mohr 12-1-64  
Re: Martin Luther King

Dr. Young assured me that Reverend King did not want to mention anything that has come up in the past. He stated, as a matter of fact, people are harassing them to death and they cannot get any work done in their office because they have to answer questions concerning the FBI. He then added that Reverend King was most anxious and willing to meet with the Director and particularly wanted to do so before he departed for Oslo, Norway.

I interrupted Dr. Young again at this point and told him that it was useless for them to request a "peace meeting" with us as long as the crusade of defamation against Mr. Hoover and the FBI was to be carried on by Reverend King and his organization. Dr. Young stated that he understood this. He stated that actually "they" feel that the FBI has done a very sound investigative job. He added that the current misunderstanding is something that should be cleared up. He then asked me if I knew of any conditions for the meeting. I told him that the only condition desired was that there be an understanding that the campaign of slander and defamation against the Director and the FBI by Reverend King and his organization, behind our backs, be dropped. Dr. Young replied, "yes." He then asked if there would be any objections if he and Reverend Abernathy accompanied Reverend King. I told him there would be none. He asked again the time of the appointment and I told him 3:30 p. m. today. He again stated that this would press them, however, he thought they could make it.

Dr. Young asked me if the FBI planned to make any announcement concerning the meeting. I told him that we would make no announcement at this time. He inquired as to whether Reverend King should make an announcement. I told him this was entirely up to Reverend King.

At 12:25 p. m. today we received a call from the wire services indicating that Bayard Rustin had just announced in New York that Reverend King would meet with the Director at 3:30 p. m. this afternoon. It was quite obvious that this group already had their press release prepared with the exception of the time element.

✓      

DECODED COPY REC-7

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Mr. Tolson   |  |
| Mr. DeLoach  |  |
| Mr. Mohr     |  |
| Mr. Bishop   |  |
| Mr. Casper   |  |
| Mr. Callahan |  |
| Mr. Conrad   |  |
| Mr. Felt     |  |
| Mr. Gale     |  |
| Mr. Rosen    |  |
| Mr. Sullivan |  |
| Mr. Tavel    |  |
| Mr. Trotter  |  |
| Tele. Room   |  |
| Holmes       |  |
| Gandy        |  |

AIRGRAM  CABLEGRAM  RADIO  TELETYPE

12:42PM URGENT 12-1-64 LAC  
TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK  
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON-ENCODED  
FROM NEW HAVEN 011600

CIRM: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RACIAL MATTERS.

RE TELEPHONE CALL THIS DATE FROM ASAC BAKER TO INSPECTOR SIZOO.

ESTABLISHED SOURCES ADVISED THAT SUBJECT AT PRESS CONFERENCE STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT, NOVEMBER 30, 1964 STATED HE WOULD NO LONGER ENGAGE IN CONTROVERSY WITH FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER AND WOULD SEEK A MEETING WITH HOOVER TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES. KING STATED HE THOUGHT TIME HAD COME TO "ALL OF US TO GET ON WITH THE LARGER JOB OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT."

KING HONORED AT PUBLIC MEETING HELD EVENING NOVEMBER 30, 1964 STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT HIGH SCHOOL AT WHICH NEARLY 2500 PEOPLE PRESENT. KING, IN ADDRESS, CITED RECENT GAINS MADE BY NEGRO SUCH AS INCREASED EARNING POWER, REGISTRATION OF OVER TWO MILLION NEGRO VOTERS IN SOUTH, ABATING OF LYNCHINGS IN SOUTH AND SUPRISING DEGREE OF COMPLIANCE WITH NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAW, ESPECIALLY PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS LAW. KING POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, NEGROES STILL DISCRIMINATED AGAINST, STILL FOUR MILLION UNREGISTERED NEGROES IN SOUTH, STILL SALARY DIFFERENTIAL FOR THE WHITE AND NEGRO AND STILL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO IN HOUSING.

*See 11/11/64 11/11/64*

DEC 15 1964

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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# DECODED COPY

AIRGRAM   
  CABLEGRAM   
  RADIO   
  TELETYPE

PAGE 2                      FROM NEW HAVEN    011600

CITIZENS ANTICOMMUNIST COMMITTEE OF CONNECTICUT, AN ORGANIZATION KNOWN TO BUREAU, AFTER ADVISING STAMFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT OF INTENTION, DISTRIBUTED LEAFLETS IN FRONT OF STAMFORD HIGH SCHOOL CHARGING KING WITH ATTENDING COMMUNIST PARTY TRAINING SCHOOL. NO INCIDENTS AROSE FROM THIS DISTRIBUTION. KING MET AT KENNEDY AIRPORT, NEW YORK, BY WALTER WHEELER, THIRD, OFFICIAL PITNEY - BOWES, INC., STAMFORD, AND CHESTER ADDISON, STAMFORD POLICE COMMISSIONER. ALSO MEETING KING AT AIRPORT WAS BAYARD RUSTIN, NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER AND ONE AL LAST NAME UNKNOWN DESCRIBED AS NEGRO PRESS AGENT FROM NEW YORK CITY.

KING, AFTER PUBLIC MEETING, STAYED OVERNIGHT AT RESIDENCE OF WALTER WHEELER, THIRD, STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT.

ATLANTA ADVISED BY MAIL.

RECEIVED: 12:56PM MF

SSC Letter 7/8/75 - Item 2b

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
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| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: December 1, 1964

FROM : A. Rosen

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 2 - Mr. Martindale

SUBJECT: DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN ATTEMPTING TO CONTACT MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS

The following sets forth details of difficulties encountered in attempts to contact Martin Luther King, Jr.

The "New York Times" 11/19/62 quoted King to the effect that the FBI had not done an effective job in Albany, Georgia, and one of the great problems with the Bureau in the South was that the Agents were white Southerners. Actually, four of the five Agents assigned to Albany, Georgia, were Northern born.

It was approved that Mr. Sullivan and Mr. DeLoach would make an appointment with King to straighten him out concerning the statements he reportedly had made.

On 11/30/62 Mr. DeLoach attempted to contact King to arrange the interview. The Atlanta operator advised there was no telephone at the residence usually occupied by King and the operator then tried to reach him at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. Someone at the church stated that King was on a two weeks vacation and could not be reached. Upon being asked if King was near a telephone, this person replied in the affirmative but stated that King did not wish to be disturbed.

The Atlanta Office then was instructed to attempt to locate King by telephone and advise him that Mr. DeLoach and Mr. Sullivan wished to sit down and have a chat with him any time he was in the Washington or New York area. King's secretary was then contacted by the Atlanta Office on 11/30/62, and the secretary stated that King was at a hideaway writing a book and could not be reached for the week of November 30. The secretary stated that the following week King would be traveling in Alabama. The secretary was requested to have King contact the Atlanta Office with regard to an urgent matter, however, King never made such a contact.

Special Agent Charles S. Harding by letter of 11/20/64 has remarked that when he attempted to contact King to make the appointment for Mr. DeLoach, King and his staff completely ignored the FBI even though they were advised the request to talk to him was a matter of utmost urgency.

REC-21 592

14 DEC 10 1964

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WLM/cac  
(19)

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

RE: DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN ATTEMPTING TO  
CONTACT MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

On about July 18 to July 20, 1961, attempts were made to make an appointment with King to interview him in connection with the investigation of Theodore Edward Brown who was under investigation as a special inquiry for the Peace Corps. On July 19 or July 20, King's secretary stated that "Dr. King can see you on Saturday afternoon but you don't work Saturdays, do you?" His secretary was advised that the Agent would be at King's office any time King would be available. A definite appointment was made for 2 p.m. Saturday afternoon July 22, 1961. The Agent appeared at King's office at approximately 1:50 p.m. where he waited for an hour before being admitted to King's office. King stated he was sorry to keep the Agent waiting but he was behind in his paper work and had completed some of it before admitting the Agent.

In June, 1962, efforts were made to obtain an appointment with King in connection with a case involving Shirley Blackwell Cummings, a Peace Corps applicant. Beginning on approximately 6/5/62, King's secretary kept stating that he was not available for interview although it was known to us that he was in his office daily. On 6/8/62 Wyatt T. Walker, King's assistant, advised the Atlanta Office that he and King were proceeding to Shreveport, Louisiana, in connection with the voter registration drive and that the Little Union Baptist Church in Shreveport had received a bomb threat. At that time, Walker was informed that Agents had been urgently trying to make an appointment with King and Walker stated an appointment would be made. On 6/8/62 King telephoned the Atlanta Office from Shreveport to inquire as to why the Agent wanted an appointment and to advise of the bomb threat previously furnished by Walker. King consented to interview which was conducted 6/9/62.

King was also interviewed by the Atlanta Office on 7/24/62 in connection with racial incidents at Albany, Georgia, involving alleged violation by King of a temporary restraining order issued by the U. S. District Court to stop demonstrations. The interview was conducted in the U. S. courtroom where King had appeared for a hearing.

On 6/25/63 the Atlanta Office attempted to contact King to advise him of a threat against his life. Efforts to contact him were at first unsuccessful, but after a delay of some hours, King's secretary informed him of the Bureau's interest in talking to him and arrangements were made for an Agent to contact King by telephone.

ACTION

This is for information.

*Chm*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*W. Heloach is preparing a complete memo.*

*[Handwritten mark]*

*1200 1*

Tolson   
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 Tele. Room   
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Bauer*  
*5-20-64*  
*Trans*  
 DE LOACH

UPI-24

(HOOVER)

STAMFORD, CONN.--THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SAID LAST NIGHT HE WOULD CALL FOR A MEETING WITH FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER TO IRON OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES.

"I DO NOT PLAN TO ENGAGE IN PUBLIC DEBATE WITH MR. HOOVER AND I THINK THE TIME HAS COME FOR ALL THIS CONTROVERSY TO END AND FOR ALL OF US TO GET ON WITH THE LARGER JOB OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT," KING TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE.

"ON THE BASIS OF THIS, I REQUEST A CONFERENCE WITH MR. HOOVER TO TALK ABOUT THIS WHOLE PROBLEM OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THE SOUTH," HE SAID.

12/1--GE949A

12/1/64  
 10:48 AM

100-106670-A  
 NOT RECORDED  
 12 DEC 7 1964

100-106670

--XEROX 808 R.B.

SSC Letter 7/8/75 - Item 2c



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: December 3, 1962

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
 FALSE STATEMENTS REGARDING  
 FBI INVESTIGATIONS OF  
 CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

*Handwritten notes:*  
 Kelly  
 Sullivan  
 Tavel  
 Trotter  
 Tele. Room  
 Holmes  
 Gandy  
 B. 203

After reviewing files to ascertain all available facts which might be needed in an interview with Dr. King, Mr. Sullivan and I made an attempt to contact Dr. King in Atlanta, Georgia, Friday, November 30.

The Atlanta operator advised that there was no telephone at the residence usually occupied by Dr. King. The operator next tried the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. A person there advised that Dr. King was away on two weeks vacation and could not be reached. Upon being asked if Dr. King was near a telephone, this person replied in the affirmative but stated Dr. King did not wish to be disturbed.

I called our Atlanta Office and in the SAC's absence, talked with ASAC Hitt. I instructed him to attempt to telephonically locate Dr. King and tell him that Mr. Sullivan and I desired to sit down and have a chat with him any time he was in the Washington or New York area. ASAC Hitt was specifically told to indicate to Dr. King that the desired conversation was not as a result of an investigation concerning Dr. King but merely for purposes of a chat with him.

ASAC Hitt called back at 2:30 PM, November 30, to advise that one of King's assistants had told him that King is at a "hideaway" writing a book and could not be reached. He stated that King will be in Alabama all of next week and will then return to Atlanta and will call ASAC Hitt at that time. ASAC Hitt mentioned it is King's usual policy to let a day or two pass, following an attempt to get in touch with him, and he will then return the call.

ACTION:

Mr. Sullivan and I will closely follow this matter until an interview with King has been arranged.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

CDD:ejr  
 (5)

REC-27

104

6 DEC 18 1962

56 DEC 27

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SSC Letter 7/8/75 - Item 2d

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Born Michael King, January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, he was the son of a Baptist minister and rechristened by his father (who, at the same time, renamed himself Martin Luther King, Sr.) at the age of two.

*Summary*  
King received an A. B. degree, Morehouse College, 1948; L. H. D. degree in 1957 from the same University; he attended Crozer Theological Seminary in 1951; received a Ph. D. degree from Boston University in 1955; received D. D. degree in 1959 from Boston University; he received other theological degrees from Howard University in 1957 and Morgan State college in 1958.

He married Coretta Scott on June 17, 1953. His children are Yolanda Denise and Martin Luther King, III.

## COMMUNIST BACKGROUND AND AFFILIATIONS

Martin Luther King constitutes a national security problem in light of the fact that, being a leader of an estimated 20,000,000 Negroes in their struggle for civil rights, he has knowingly, willingly and regularly cooperated with and taken guidance from the communists. He is an unprincipled, opportunistic individual ~~who is considered and described within the Communist Party, USA, as a Marxist.~~

In King's rise to national prominence, he has been closely allied with the communists. He has shown not only a willingness but even an eagerness to accept communist aid, to support communist causes and to work closely with and rely upon the advice and guidance of dedicated communists with concealed affiliations, despite the fact that they have been identified reliably to him as such.

Among individuals with communist backgrounds with whom King has associated is Stanley David Levison. Levison has dedicated a part of his life to advancing the communist cause in this country. Levison has been instrumental in providing financial assistance to King, in giving personal advice and helping him organize his activities. The two have been observed personally meeting on a number of occasions since November, 1963. As of October 30, 1964, plans were underway for a personal meeting of King and Clarence Jones with Levison which was to take place in the near future in Atlanta. Levison's contacts with King have mainly been handled through an intermediary, Clarence Jones, who is also a frequent adviser to King. Jones is General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). During the mid-1950's Jones held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, the Party's youth organization. As recently as November 24, 1964, King contacted Jones and asked that Jones and Levison, among others, submit five-minute speeches which King could use in accepting the Nobel Peace Prize. King would select the best material from these speeches.

Another individual with a communist background on whom King depends is Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who, in December, 1959, was elected at the Party's National Convention as a member of the Party's

National Committee under a pseudonym. In 1961, O'Dell was made administrator of the SCLC's New York Office. In addition, two other Party members, Hazel Gray and Loretta Pauker, worked there under O'Dell at one time or another. Later, O'Dell worked for King's group in Atlanta, Georgia, using the name J. H. O'Dell. But in October, 1962, several newspaper articles exposed his connection with the SCLC and his communist affiliations. King reacted by trying to minimize O'Dell's role with his organization and pretended ignorance of O'Dell's communist affiliations. King said O'Dell had temporarily resigned pending an inquiry. Later, the resignation became permanent, not, as King put it, because the SCLC inquiry had disclosed any present connections between O'Dell and the Communist Party but because of the emotional public response.

Actually, King's reluctance to dismiss O'Dell stems not only on his dependence on him, but also King's reported dedication to Marxism-Leninism. In February, 1962, Levison passed the word to Gus Hall (General Secretary, Communist Party, USA) that "King is a wholehearted Marxist who has studied it (Marxism), believes in it and agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly." Further, in March, 1962, Levison told a Communist Party functionary that King was concerned about a "communist label" being "pinned on us!" but that, at the same time, he wanted to do everything possible to evidence friendship toward the Soviet Union. Moreover, King has been described within the Communist Party as a true, genuine Marxist-Leninist "from the top of his head to the tips of his toes."

Another key King adviser with a communist background is Bayard Rustin, the former Young Communist League member, who at one time was Assistant Secretary of the SCLC. Rustin has been convicted on a homosexual charge.

Actually, King is a hypocrite, a fraud and a cheat who, under the guise of religion and patriotism, is deceiving millions of Americans.



December 1, 1964

~~Immoral Conduct of~~  
~~MARTIN LUTHER KING~~

~~King endeavors to pass himself off as a clergyman; however, his moral conduct is of the lowest grade. When pressed concerning his relationship with communists, he seeks refuge in his role as a clergyman.~~

On one occasion, for example, he was asked by reporters if he took orders from the communists and also whether he took them from Stanley Levison. He replied that he took orders only from God. But his personal conduct belies it. To all outward appearances, King, copastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, is a respectable man who resides with his wife and children in Atlanta. The facts concerning his private life, however, stamp him as a moral degenerate. He is known to have engaged in a series of extramarital relations not only in Atlanta, but as he travels about the country.

~~On January 6-7, 1964, a Washington, D. C., hotel was the scene of such activities on the part of King and some of his SCLC associates as to reveal the true nature of this man. At least 12 individuals, near equally divided between males and females and, including King, officers of the SCLC and others bearing the title of "Reverend," participated in a two-day sex orgy, the details of which are shocking to even the most sophisticated. Excessive consumption of alcohol and the use of the vilest language imaginable served only as a backdrop to acts of degeneracy and depravity, many of which were in a communal atmosphere with the onlookers as "entertained" as the participants. Many of those present engaged in sexual acts, natural as well as unnatural. King more than once boasted of his drunken condition. When one of the females shied away from engaging in an unnatural act, King and other of the males discussed how she was to be taught and initiated in this respect.~~

~~During the period February 20-25, 1964, Los Angeles, California, was the scene of another of King's immoral "adventures," his partner in this escapade being a married woman with whom he has had several illicit diversions. The dates of April 22, 24 and 25, 1964, found King again spending nights in a motel room with some of his west coast paramours, one of whom, his apparent favorite, was the married woman who was his partner in February, 1964.~~

~~A Las Vegas, Nevada, hotel room was the scene of another of King's sex orgies during the early morning hours of April 27, 1964. A prostitute advised that she was engaged for King by a female intermediary and received \$100 for her services. King and an associate indulged in repeated acts of sexual intercourse with the prostitute in the presence of the female who~~

engaged the prostitute. All four individuals participated in unnatural acts. The prostitute summed up her reactions with the remark "That was the worst orgy I've ever gone through."

The period July 8-9, 1964, witnessed a continuation of King's extramarital activities in Los Angeles. During the early evening hours of July 8, 1964, he had sexual relations with his Los Angeles "favorite"\* and later spent the night with another female with whom he had relations.

As can be seen from the above, it is an established fact beyond any question that King not only regularly indulges in adulterous acts, but he also, from one end of the country to the other, engages in group sexual orgies with definite abnormal manifestations.

Many of the responsible leaders in the Negro movement apparently are aware of King's degenerate moral character. Representatives of the news media are also aware of this fact as indicated by their inquiries to responsible Negro leaders such as Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP.

Roy Wilkins voiced this very concern in his contact with Mr. DeLoach on November 27th. He also realizes that King is a liar and has little respect for him. Wilkins and his associates would like to see King eased out of his leadership capacity and perhaps take over the presidency of a small college or perhaps accept a position as a pastor of a large Negro church and thereby retire forever as a leader of the Negroes.

\*Dolores Evans, wife of a dentist in Los Angeles, California.

December 1, 1964

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S CRITICISM OF THE  
DIRECTOR AND FBI

CURRENT ATTACK:

On November 19, 1964, Martin Luther King, Jr., sent a telegram from Atlanta to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover concerning Mr. Hoover's remarks to the press the previous day. Set forth below is an analysis of this telegram.

King States: He has questioned the FBI's effectiveness but has never attributed this merely to the presence of Southerners in the FBI.

Facts: In November, 1962, in discussing racial disturbances in Albany, Georgia, King was widely quoted in the press as stating that one of the greatest problems regarding the FBI in the South is that the Agents are white Southerners who have been influenced by the mores of the community. This is, of course, absolutely false, and it is noted that four of the five Agents then assigned to Albany, Georgia, were Northerners.

King States: Not a single arrest was made in Albany, Georgia, during the many brutalities against Negroes.

Facts: During the summer of 1962, there was a continuing series of mass racial meetings, marches and demonstrations by Negroes in the Albany, Georgia, area. This resulted in numerous multiple arrests of Negroes for lying down in the street, blocking traffic and disorderly conduct. During this period, numerous allegations of civil rights violations were made to FBI Agents and Department of Justice officials. In every instance the Department of Justice was advised of the complaint and the results of any investigation conducted. Any additional investigation requested by the Department was immediately and thoroughly run out and the results furnished to the Department. The Department of Justice did not see fit to prosecute any of the incidents arising out of these demonstrations.

During this same period, however, prosecution was brought against Denver Edgar Short, Jr., Deputy Marshal, Sasser, Georgia, which is about 20 miles from Albany. Short allegedly intimidated voter registration workers on August 30, 1962, and FBI investigation developed that Short cursed the victims, ordered them out of town and fired his gun in the direction of their tires. A U. S. District Court Petit Jury acquitted Short of civil rights charges on January 25, 1963.

It is also noted that on 9-17-62, FBI Agents arrested four white subjects in the vicinity of the I Hope Baptist church, a Negro church near Dawson, Georgia, and about 30 miles from Albany, which had been burned that day. In the absence of a Federal violation, confessions obtained by FBI Agents were made available to local authorities resulting in a seven year sentence for each of the three adult subjects and three years probation for the fourth subject who was a juvenile.

On 10-4-62 FBI Agents arrested Jack Phelix Smith and a detainer was placed against Douglas Howard Parker, a state prisoner, on civil rights charges in connection with the burning of the Shady Grove Baptist Church near Leesburg, Georgia, on 8-15-62. This was a Negro church approximately 12 miles from Albany. Smith and Parker are white. A Federal Grand Jury failed to indict, and FBI evidence was made available to state officials who presented the case to a local grand jury which also returned a no bill.

King States: Not a single arrest has been made in connection with the bombing in Birmingham or the three murdered civil rights workers in Mississippi.

Facts: The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama, was bombed 9-15-63 killing four Negro children. The FBI immediately launched the most intensive type of investigation which is still vigorously continuing. This investigation was prejudiced by premature arrests made by the Alabama Highway Patrol, and consequently, it has not yet been possible to obtain evidence or confessions that would insure successful prosecution although the FBI has identified a small group of Klansmen believed to be responsible.

The FBI launched a massive investigation following the disappearance of the three civil rights workers in the vicinity of Philadelphia, Mississippi, on June 21, 1964. The FBI located their bodies in an earthen dam and has developed information identifying those responsible. Intensive investigation is continuing to develop the case for prosecution as quickly as possible.

It should be noted that FBI recent investigations in Mississippi have produced the following positive results: (1) Eleven arrests in McComb on state charges involving bombings and other violence. Nine of those arrested have pleaded guilty or nois contendere and received probationary sentences; (2) Seven arrests in Natchez on state charges involving shooting incidents and a beating; (3) Two subjects arrested on state murder charges 11/6/64 in connection with the killing of Henry Hezekiah Dee and Charlie Eddie Moore; (4) Seven arrests for racial violence by the Sheriff of Pike County who stated this resulted from his success in practicing FBI methods he observed during the FBI's recent investigations; and (5) FBI Agents have arrested five present and former law enforcement officers in Neshoba County on charges of police brutality. They are presently awaiting trial.

King States: FBI Agents work with local officers on criminal cases making it difficult for them to effectively function where Negroes are threatened.

Facts: This is a shopworn canard, the falsity of which is clearly illustrated by the FBI's currently effective cooperation with local officers in Mississippi, FBI's arrest of five officers in Neshoba County, Mississippi, FBI's effective cooperation with local officers in the Georgia church burning investigations, the Penn murder case and many other cases in all parts of the country.

King States: He has no record of a request from the Director to meet with him.

Facts: In November, 1962, FBI officials sought to make an appointment with King to straighten him out with regard to his public remarks concerning the FBI's performance in Albany, Georgia. King was never available on the telephone and left instructions with his secretary on 11/28/62 that he would call the FBI when he was willing to arrange an interview. He made no further response.

King States: He has always made himself available to Atlanta FBI Agents.

Facts: In July, 1961, it was necessary for the FBI to contact King in connection with a special inquiry investigation for the Peace Corps. An appointment was made through King's secretary for his interview 7/22/61; however, King kept the FBI Agent waiting for one hour past the appointed time and stated he was behind in his paper work and had completed some of it before admitting the Agent.

In June, 1962, the FBI made efforts to obtain an appointment with King in connection with a case involving a Peace Corps applicant. Beginning on approximately 6/5/62, King's secretary kept stating that he was not available for interview although it was known to the FBI that he was in his office daily. On 6/8/62 Wyatt T. Walker, King's assistant, advised the Atlanta Office that he and King were proceeding to Shreveport, Louisiana, in connection with the voter registration drive and that the Little Union Baptist Church in Shreveport had received a bomb threat. At that time, Walker was informed that FBI Agents had been urgently trying to make an appointment with King and Walker stated an appointment would be made. On 6-8-62, King telephoned the Atlanta Office from Shreveport to inquire as to why the Agent wanted an appointment and to advise of the bomb threat previously furnished by Walker. King consented to interview which was conducted 6-9-62.

King was also interviewed by the Atlanta FBI Office on 7-24-62 in connection with racial incidents at Albany, Georgia, involving alleged violation by King of a temporary restraining order issued by the U. S. District Court to stop demonstrations. The interview was conducted in the U. S. courtroom where King had appeared for a hearing.

On 11-30-62, when FBI Headquarters officials were attempting to arrange an interview with King, the Atlanta FBI Office contacted King's secretary to make such an appointment at King's convenience. The Agent was advised that King was writing a book and could not be reached. King's secretary was requested to have King contact the Atlanta Office on an urgent matter but he never made such a contact.

On 6-25-63 the Atlanta FBI Office attempted to contact King to advise him of a threat against his life. Efforts to contact him were at first unsuccessful, but after a delay of some hours, King's secretary informed him of the Bureau's interest in talking to him and arrangements were made for an Agent to contact King by telephone.

In connection with this whole matter, it should be kept in mind that the FBI's function is purely investigative in nature. It is not empowered to offer protection to anyone, at any place, at any time.

#### PREVIOUS ATTACKS:

Generally, King's previous attacks against the Director and the FBI in the civil rights field have been similar to those outlined above. As an example is the criticism carried in The New York Times of November 19, 1962; in essence King claimed the FBI in Albany, Georgia, sides with the segregationists. He also said the FBI has not done an effective job in investigating beatings of Negroes in Georgia. His remarks were made after giving a sermon at the Riverside Baptist Church in New York City.

## FBI ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIELD

Every civil rights complaint is given thorough, prompt and impartial attention. Special Agents handling these cases are highly trained investigators who have completed advanced training courses which qualify them to conduct civil rights investigations. At Bureau Headquarters, a select staff of men with great experience and knowledge of this type of investigation supervise the cases.

The duty of maintaining law and order in civil rights demonstrations, preserving the peace and protecting life and property is the primary responsibility of local and state law enforcement agencies. The FBI is solely an investigative agency as distinguished from a police agency, and as such, is without authority to maintain the peace or furnish protection. It is the duty of the FBI, however, to furnish factual data to the Department of Justice so that a determination can be made as to whether there is any basis for Federal action under the civil rights statute.

Our work in the field of civil rights is increasing. In fiscal year 1960, the FBI handled 1,398 civil rights cases. In fiscal year 1963, the number of cases jumped to 2,692 and in fiscal year 1964, it increased to 3,340.

Although a substantial number of arrests and convictions have resulted from our investigations in these matters, the effectiveness of our work in this field can never be precisely assayed on the basis of such statistics. Perhaps the greatest value of our work in this field lies in the results of our intelligence and liaison programs which can never be traced to direct prosecutive action. We continuously gather information on a day-to-day basis which indicates that some violent action is either being definitely planned or that a situation will occur which has a high potential for violence.\*

The fact that we vigorously investigate civil rights violations undoubtedly serves as a deterrent to discourage violations

\*Such information is immediately disseminated to appropriate authorities.

December 1, 1964

ORGANIZATION OF THE CURRENT  
ATTACK AGAINST THE FBI BY  
MARTIN LUTHER KING

ALL DATA PAGES 10-12 DELETED



December 1, 1964

ORGANIZATION OF THE CURRENT  
ATTACK AGAINST THE FBI BY  
MARTIN LUTHER KING

On November 19, 1964, the day after the Director's press conference, Martin Luther King, Jr., contacted his secretary, Dora McDonald, at the Atlanta, Georgia, office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), according to a reliable source. She told him his telegram to Mr. Hoover regarding the Director's criticism of King was going out to the press. King stated he wanted to issue a statesman-like "covering statement" in connection with the telegram.

King declared the nature of the follow-up statement would be that he cannot conceive of Mr. Hoover's labeling King a liar unless he (Mr. Hoover) was under extreme pressure and apparently had faltered under the tremendous burdens, complexities and responsibilities of his office. King said he would state he cannot become involved in a public debate with Mr. Hoover and that he has nothing but sympathy for the Director who has served his country so well. King told his secretary the telegram and the statement will be the only comment he will personally issue in this matter. He told her Mr. Hoover should retire because he is "too old and broken down."

King instructed his secretary to have Randolph T. Blackwell, Program Coordinator of SCLC, go over the press release and telegram. He stated the release should be given to those who are "for us," naming Catherine Johnson of Associated Press or United Press International, one Don McKee, and Ted Poston of the "New York Post."

King later talked to his aide, Bernard Lee, the source advised, and told Lee to be sure all Negro news media get the release. He told Lee to call "Jet" magazine, a Negro publication, and to give a copy of the release to one John Herbert in New York. Lee told King, in answer to a question as to what was wrong with Mr. Hoover, that he thought the Director was getting old and is a "sacred cow."

King directed Lee to have Bayard Rustin in New York and Walter Fauntroy, SCLC representative in Washington, D. C., contacted and told to start criticism of the FBI in those areas. He said he already had started in Miami, Florida. He instructed that Slater King, a civil rights leader in Albany, Georgia, should be contacted since he would welcome an opportunity to make a statement against the FBI and the Director. Blackwell did this later that day. King declared people in the western states who are SCLC members

must be contacted to have them begin the attack against the FBI. King told Lee that telegrams to Mr. Hoover should also be sent to the President.

King declared that Blackwell and Cordy T. Vivian, Director of Affiliates of SCLC, should handle the attack on the FBI so it would not appear that King was fighting the Director over a personal matter. He said the President should censure Mr. Hoover and it would be a good idea for all telegrams to the President to request this.

On the same date, according to the source, King told Vivian this is the time to attack the whole FBI. He declared that he cannot be the one who does it, stating "we" need people in the South to make statements about the laxity of investigations and law enforcement, especially concerning civil rights. People in the North are needed to protest Mr. Hoover's charge against King. King suggested telegrams be sent to the President urging Mr. Hoover be censured and urging he be retired because "he is old and getting senile."

The source reported Vivian suggested the attack be based on Mr. Hoover's ineffectiveness in civil rights; that he is past retirement age and would have been out last year except for certain people asking that he stay on. King disagreed, asserting he wanted Mr. Hoover "hit from all sides."

Later on November 19, 1964, the source related that Wyatt Walker, a former SCLC executive now employed by a firm in New York City, contacted Vivian. He was told by Vivian to "get things going" in New York. Vivian told Walker to handle the east coast and said Tom Kilgore, an official of the Western Christian Leadership Conference in Los Angeles, California, was to handle the west coast. Vivian instructed Walker to get telegrams sent to the President, Department of Justice and the FBI demanding that Mr. Hoover apologize to King.

Vivian told Walker that this is an opportunity to mount an attack against police brutality. He said the FBI will try to defend itself with the statement that it is an investigative agency and that people making the protest should know what to expect from the FBI. Vivian later contacted Kilgore and gave him similar instructions.

According to a highly confidential Atlanta informant, one Reverend Hodge, location unknown, contacted Vivian and wanted methods SCLC was using against Hoover. Vivian advised SCLC files failed to indicate Hoover ever tried to contact King. Vivian gave Hodge the following points to get across concerning Hoover and the FBI:

(1) FBI has been ineffective in that no persons have been brought to trial (In Albany only Negroes went to jail.);

(2) FBI is only investigative arm which Vivian claims is ridiculous in that investigations have not been good enough for convictions and reports are available only to FBI and Department of Justice. (For example, one of SCLC staff members was shot at Greenville along with two other people and nothing was done about it.);

(3) Hoover never tried to get in contact with King to verify statement;

(4) King did not tell people not to contact FBI;

(5) FBI has jurisdiction whenever civil liberties have been violated. Vivian claimed Director had no evidence to support Director's statements against King. Vivian further claimed King does not want to debate the Director but it is their job as subordinates to handle the criticism against Hoover and the FBI. Vivian claims the Director's statement concerning pressure groups is vague and full of generalities and Hoover is more interested in John Birch Society, Minutemen and Ku Klux Klan but will not attack them. Vivian claimed "we" had statements sent from all civil rights leaders to the President from James Farmer of CORE, Wilkins of NAACP and Jack Greenberg of African Union.

The source continued that Vivian claimed the main points to drive home are that the investigations and reports of the FBI can only be seen by Justice Department and he feels reports are inadequate.

Identities of Individuals Mentioned:

Randolph T. Blackwell, according to a confidential source in 1953, had been a member of the Communist Party (CP) in the District of Columbia, and another source indicated Blackwell attended a Labor Youth League (cited by the Department of Justice) Convention.

A confidential source advised in November, 1947, that Cordy T. Vivian was a member of the CP in Peoria, Illinois, and had been active in CP affairs for some time.

Bayard Rustin, in July, 1964, issues of "The Saturday Evening Post" was said to have gone to New York in 1938 as an organizer for the Young Communist League and as such had the job of recruiting students for the "Party!" He reportedly left the Party in 1941.

## ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT MARTIN LUTHER KING

On November 19, 1962, the "New York Times" quoted King to the effect that the FBI had not done an effective job in Albany, Georgia, and one of the greatest problems with the Bureau in the South was that the Agents were white Southerners. (Actually, four of the five Agents assigned to Albany, Georgia, were Northern born.) With regard to this matter, it was approved that Assistant Directors Sullivan and DeLoach make an appointment with King to straighten him out concerning the unfounded criticism he reportedly had made.

On November 30, 1962, Mr. DeLoach attempted to reach King by telephone to arrange an interview. The Atlanta operator advised that there was no telephone at the residence usually occupied by King. Then the operator tried to reach King at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta; however, an individual there stated that King was away on two weeks' vacation and could not be reached. Upon being asked if King was near a telephone, this person replied affirmatively but stated King did not wish to be disturbed.

Mr. DeLoach then called the Atlanta Office and instructed ASAC F. V. Hitt (now on Inspection Staff) to telephonically locate King and tell him (1) that Messrs. DeLoach and Sullivan wanted to sit down with him any time he was in the Washington or New York area; and (2) that the desired conversation did not involve an investigation of King but stemmed from a desire to talk to King.

The Atlanta Office then succeeded in contacting King's secretary on November 30, 1962, and was advised that King was at a "hideaway" writing a book and could not be reached during the week of November 30th. The secretary further advised that the following week King would be traveling in Alabama. The secretary was requested to have King contact the Atlanta Office with regard to an urgent matter; however, King never made this contact. (By letter dated November 20, 1964, SA Charles S. Harding has remarked that when he attempted to contact King to make the appointment requested by Mr. DeLoach, King and his staff completely ignored the FBI even though they were told the request to talk to him was a matter of utmost urgency.)

## OTHER DIFFICULTIES OF ATLANTA OFFICE IN CONTACTING KING

On about July 18 to July 20, 1961, attempts were made to make an appointment with King to interview him in connection with the special inquiry investigation of Theodore Edward Brown for the Peace Corps. On July 19th or July 20th,

King's secretary stated that "Dr. King can see you on Saturday afternoon but you don't work Saturdays, do you?" His secretary was advised that the Agent would be at King's office any time King would be available. A definite appointment was made for 2 p. m. Saturday afternoon, July 22, 1961. The Agent appeared at King's office at approximately 1:50 p. m., where he waited for an hour before being admitted to King's office. King stated he was sorry to keep the Agent waiting but he was behind in his paper work and had completed some of it before admitting the Agent.

In June, 1962, efforts were made to obtain an appointment with King in connection with a case involving Shirley Blackwell Cummings, a Peace Corps applicant. Beginning on approximately June 5, 1962, King's secretary kept stating that he was not available for interview although it was known to us that he was in his office daily. On June 8, 1962, Wyatt T. Walker, King's assistant, advised the Atlanta Office that he and King were proceeding to Shreveport, Louisiana, in connection with the voter registration drive and that the Little Union Baptist Church in Shreveport had received a bomb threat. At that time, Walker was informed that Agents had been urgently trying to make an appointment with King, and Walker stated an appointment would be made. On June 8, 1962, King telephoned the Atlanta Office from Shreveport to inquire as to why the Agent wanted an appointment and to advise of the bomb threat previously furnished by Walker. King consented to interview which was conducted June 9, 1962.

After being unable to contact King on July 23, 1962, the Atlanta Office interviewed him the next day in connection with racial incidents at Albany, Georgia, involving alleged violation by King of a temporary restraining order issued by the U. S. District Court to stop demonstrations. The interview was conducted in the U. S. courtroom where King had appeared for a hearing.

On June 25, 1963, the Atlanta Office attempted to contact King to advise him of a threat against his life. Efforts to contact him were at first unsuccessful, but after a delay of some hours, King's secretary informed him of the Bureau's interest in talking to him and arrangements were made for an Agent to contact King by telephone. (It will be recalled that in connection with other threats against King's life, the Jackson Office was instructed in July, 1964, to provide coverage during King's visit to Mississippi. They performed this assignment in line with a request from the President; and, interestingly, Sheriff Lawrence A. Rainey of Neshoba County, Mississippi, wrote to the Director on July 28th to inquire about the authority by which FBI Agents furnished protection to King during King's visit to Philadelphia, Mississippi, on July 24, 1964. The Bureau recommended that Rainey's letter not be answered, after a copy of it had been received by the White House and subsequently referred to our attention.)

on the part of law enforcement officers and spurs these officers to immediately and vigorously investigate civil rights situations that otherwise might be ignored.

Liaison with Governors and ranking state officials has also been effective. Also, although we may not have jurisdiction in a particular case the cooperative facilities of the FBI Laboratory and Identification Division are made available.

It is also noted that on July 10, 1964, the Director traveled to Jackson, Mississippi, to open a new FBI office in that city. With this office, we feel we can more efficiently and effectively meet our growing responsibilities.

There follows thumbnail sketches of some of the FBI's more recent specific accomplishments in the civil rights field.

#### Racial Discrimination and Intimidation of Voters

Under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, the Attorney General was empowered to institute civil actions seeking injunctive relief against racial discrimination and intimidation in voting. We have conducted investigations under these acts in 168 counties in six southern states. As a result, 67 suits have been filed in the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. As a result of suits filed based on our investigations into discrimination and intimidation in voting, thousands of previously disenfranchised Negro citizens have been enabled to register for voting.

#### Assaults Upon Voter Registration Workers in Mississippi

Rabbi Arthur Joseph Lelyveld and two other white voter registration workers were assaulted by two white men in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, on June 10, 1964. Local authorities were furnished the results of our investigation which identified two local white men who perpetrated the assault. The subjects were prosecuted on charges of assault and battery, fined \$500 each and each was sentenced to 90 days in jail. The jail sentences were suspended pending good behavior.

Two white civil rights workers accompanied by a young Negro were assaulted in Jackson, Mississippi, on July 22, 1964. FBI investigation identified a local Klansman as having struck one of the victims with a club. Results of our investigation were furnished to local authorities. The subject pleaded guilty to local assault charges and was fined \$50.

Three voter registration workers were intimidated and one was assaulted at Itta Bena, Mississippi, on June 25, 1964. FBI Agents arrested three local white men on June 26, 1964, for violation of Federal Civil Rights Statutes. A Federal Grand Jury at Oxford, Mississippi, considered this case on July 17, 1964, but failed to indict although the intimidation and the identities of the subjects were clearly established.

#### Civil Rights Act of 1964

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 added tremendously to the work of the FBI. Approximately 1,800 reports and memoranda concerning alleged violations have been prepared by FBI Agents since the Act became effective on July 2, 1964.

Based on extensive FBI investigations, a three judge Federal Court in Atlanta, Georgia, found the Act Constitutional and enjoined the Pickrick Restaurant and the Heart of Atlanta Motel from racial discrimination. The Heart of Atlanta Motel case has been heard by the Supreme Court and a decision is expected momentarily. Another case which has been heard by the Supreme Court involves a restaurant in Birmingham (Ollie McClung Case) which case was heard by a three judge Federal Court and the Act was ruled unconstitutional, regarding this specific restaurant. A decision is expected momentarily on this case also and on the decision of this case and the Heart of Atlanta Motel Case rests the fate of the effect of the Civil Rights Act. Based on FBI investigations, suits have been filed against restaurants and motels in Florida and numerous restaurants in Alabama that discriminate. Additional court actions are anticipated in South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. A federal suit now pending seeks to restrain the Mayor of Greenwood, Mississippi, and other public officials from interfering with the right of Negroes to attend a theater and for failing to provide adequate police protection in the operation of a theater.

On July 23, 1964, three white men, Willie Amon Belk, his son, Jimmy Allen Belk, and Sam Allen Shaffer, Jr., were arrested by FBI Agents at Greenwood, Mississippi, on charges of conspiracy to violate the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The arrests followed a thorough,

intensive and immediate investigation concerning the beating of Silas McGhee, which occurred on July 16, 1964. The facts in this matter will be presented to a Federal Grand Jury in January, 1965.

### School Integration Matters

During August and September, 1964, the FBI investigated desegregation of public schools in 18 possible trouble spots in southern states. In connection with these investigations, we determined plans or activities of Klan and other hate groups which might have interfered with desegregation or resulted in acts of violence, and this information was disseminated to local authorities.

### Three Civil Rights Workers Murdered

The FBI conducted an all-out investigation concerning the disappearance of Michael Schwerner and two other civil rights workers in the vicinity of Philadelphia, Mississippi, on June 21, 1964. The victims' burned-out automobile was located by FBI Agents on June 23, 1964, and the bodies of the three murdered victims were found in an earthen dam on August 4, 1964. Arising out of this investigation the FBI established other civil rights violations and on October 2, 1964, a special Federal Grand Jury returned indictments against Sheriff Lawrence Andrew Rainey and three other local law enforcement officers and a former sheriff of Neshoba County, Mississippi. All five subjects were arrested by FBI Agents and are awaiting trial on police brutality charges not connected with the murders. While the FBI is certain as to the identities of the subjects responsible for the murders of the three civil rights workers, intensive investigation is being conducted to develop suitable evidence. Today (12-1-64) representatives of our Civil Rights Section are discussing with Assistant Attorney General Marshall possibilities of prosecution of the subjects regarding the murders.

### Murder of Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel A. Penn

On 7-11-64 Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel A. Penn was murdered near Colbert, Georgia. FBI investigation resulted in the arrest of our subjects by FBI Agents on 8-6-64. Complete details of FBI investigation were made available to the State for prosecution



of the subjects on murder charges. Two of the subjects were acquitted in local court on 9-4-64; a third subject has not yet been tried in local court but is still under indictment for murder and the local case against the fourth subject has been dismissed.

On 10-16-64 indictments were returned by the Federal Grand Jury at Athens, Georgia, charging six men with conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate Negro citizens in the free exercise and enjoyment of rights and privileges secured to them by the Constitution. These individuals were Denver Willis Phillips, George Hampton Turner, Herbert Guest, Cecil William Myers, Joseph Howard Sims and James S. Lackey. Guest, Lackey, Myers and Sims were the four men arrested by the FBI in connection with the murder of Penn. A second indictment on 10-16-64 charges Guest with possession of a shotgun having an over-all length of less than 26 inches which had not been registered by Guest with the Secretary of Treasury or his delegate. All except Lackey were arraigned 11-30-64 on a Federal indictment--pleas of not guilty rendered to the charges. Trial is set for 1-11-65.

#### Bombing of Home of Iona Godfrey

FBI investigation established that William Sterling Rosecrans, Jr., a 30-year-old Klansman, had participated in the home bombing of Iona Godfrey, a Negro in Jacksonville, Florida, on 2-16-64. Godfrey's six-year-old son was attending a white school under a Federal Court Order. Rosecrans pleaded guilty to obstructing a court order and was sentenced on 4-17-64 to seven years by the U. S. District Court. Five other Klansmen, who allegedly were involved in the bombing, were also arrested by FBI Agents, but one of these subjects was acquitted in U. S. District Court and the jury was unable to reach a verdict regarding the other four. Retrial of latter four began November 16, 1964, and resulted in acquittal of all four on 11-25-64.

#### Bombings in McComb, Mississippi

Intensive FBI investigation was conducted in connection with a series of bombings in the McComb, Mississippi, area from June to September, 1964. Through the diligent efforts of the FBI and the Mississippi Highway Patrol, nine white men were tried by Circuit Court Judge W. H. Watkins at Magnolia, Mississippi, in connection

with charges that they were involved in bombings of homes and churches at McComb. The nine entered pleas of guilty and nolo contendere. After a 30 minute lecture Judge Watkins suspended their sentences and placed all on probation. Judge Watkins, who was appointed by former Mississippi Governor Ross R. Barnett, cited the defendants' youth and good families in taking this action. He stated also that in committing these crimes they had been "unduly provoked and undoubtedly ill advised." It may be noted that four of the bombers were aged 44, 38, 36, and 35.

### Murder of Two Negroes

Two Mississippi white men were arrested 11-6-64 in connection with the murder of Henry Hezekiah Dee and Charlie Eddie Moore, two Negroes from the Meadville, Mississippi, area. The lower portions of the bodies of these two Negroes were found in the Old River backwater of the Mississippi River on 7-12 and 13, 1964. The white men, James Ford Seale, aged 29; and Charles Marcus Edwards, aged 31, were charged under warrants issued by Meadville Justice of the Peace Willie Bedford, with willfully, unlawfully feloniously and with malice aforethought killing the two Negroes on or about 5-2-64. Dee and Moore were last seen alive on 5-2-64. One of the subjects, Edwards, is a self-admitted Klansman.

### Murder of Medgar Evers

In connection with the murder of Medgar Evers, a field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on 6-12-63, Byron de la Beckwith is under state indictment. Local prosecution is based upon an investigation which traced a rifle which local authorities believed could have been the murder weapon to Beckwith. The FBI traced the rifle's telescopic sight to Beckwith and, further, identified a fingerprint found on the sight with Beckwith's. He was tried twice (2-7-64 and 4-17-64) in State court, but jury could not reach verdict in either case. Local district attorney has indicated he will not try Beckwith again without new evidence.

### Plot to Dynamite Building Occupied by Civil Rights Organization

The combined efforts of FBI Agents and the Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol resulted in the arrest of James Charles Rutledge at Meridian, Mississippi, on 10-8-64 on State charges of feloniously

possessing explosives. Rutledge was in possession of a large quantity of dynamite and literature of the Ku Klux Klan at the time of his arrest. The arrest resulted from information developed by the FBI which indicated the dynamite was to be used to damage a building occupied in the Neshoba County, Mississippi, area, by the Council of Federated Organizations.

The FBI immediately instituted an investigation following a recent explosion adjacent to the Bishop Denis J. O'Connell High School in Arlington, Virginia. The FBI obtained confessions implicating three former students in the bombing and on 10-29-64, the three appeared before an Arlington County Juvenile Judge. Two of the youths who were aged 17 were found guilty of a misdemeanor and the third youth, aged 18, was found guilty of contributing to the delinquency of a minor. The three subjects are awaiting sentence. The subjects were prosecuted locally as there was no Federal violation.

On June 20, 1964, indictments were returned by the Federal Grand Jury in Nashville, Tennessee, against seven officers of the Nashville-Davidson County Sheriff's Office and the Rutherford County Sheriff's Office. The indictments charged police brutality in violation of a Federal civil rights statute and the officers are presently awaiting trial in U. S. District Court, Nashville, Tennessee.

SSC Letter 7/8/75 - Item 2e

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Mohr       | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: December 2, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
APPOINTMENT WITH DIRECTOR  
3:35 P.M., 12-1-64

At Reverend King's request, the Director met with King; Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Dr. Andrew Young, Executive Assistant to King; and Walter Rautroy, SCLC representative here in Washington, at 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64, in the Director's Office.

I met King and his associates in the hallway outside the Director's Office. An attempt was made to rush them directly through the reception room, however, King slowly posed for the cameras and newsmen before proceeding.

Upon being introduced to the Director, Reverend King indicated his appreciation for Mr. Hoover's seeing him then stated that Reverend Abernathy would speak first. Reverend Abernathy told the Director it was a great privilege to meet the distinguished Director of the FBI--a man who had done so much for his country. Reverend Abernathy expressed the appreciation of the Negro race for the Director's fine work in the field of civil rights. He stated that the Negroes had problems, particularly in the South, and, therefore, had requested a discussion with the Director at the very time their people were continuing to "rise up from their bondage."

Reverend King spoke up. He stated it was vitally necessary to keep a working relationship with the FBI. He wanted to clear up any misunderstanding which might have occurred. He stated that some Negroes had told him that the FBI had been ineffective, however, he was inclined to discount such criticism. Reverend King asked that the Director please understand that any criticism of the Director and the FBI which had been attributed to King was either a misquote or an outright misrepresentation. He stated this particularly concerned Albany, Georgia. He stated that the only time he had ever criticized the FBI was because of instances in which Special Agents who had been given complaints in civil rights cases regarding brutality by police officers were seen the following day being friendly with those same police officers. King stated this, of course, promoted distrust inasmuch as the police sometimes "brutalized" Negroes.

- Enclosure - Sent 12/2/64
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
  - 1 - Mr. Rosen
  - 1 - Mr. Sullivan

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

- 1 - Miss Gandy
- 1 - Miss Holmes
- 1 - Mr. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Morrell

CDD:saj

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DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

Reverend King stated he personally appreciated the great work of the FBI which had been done in so many instances. He stated this was particularly true in Mississippi. He added that FBI developments in that State have been very significant. The FBI is a great restraining influence. Reverend King denied that he had ever stated that Negroes should not report information to the FBI. He said he had actually encouraged such reporting in many instances. He claimed there were good relationships in many communities, especially Atlanta, Georgia, between Negroes and the FBI. He stated he would continue to strongly urge all of his people to work closely with the FBI.

Reverend King stated he has never made any personal attack upon Mr. Hoover. He stated he had merely tried to articulate the feelings of the Negroes in the South in order to keep a tradition of nonviolence rather than violence. He added that the Negro should never be transferred from a policy of nonviolence to one of violence and terror.

Reverend King said that the Director's report to the President this summer on rioting was a very excellent analysis.

Reverend King advised that Negroes are currently laboring under a very frustrating situation. He stated that, "We sometimes are on the verge of temporary despair." He added that it was a challenge and a duty for him to keep the Negro from coming to a boiling point. He stated that sometimes the cries coming from the Negro represent a real feeling of lonesomeness and despair. He, however, has pointed out that the path to success is nonviolence rather than violence.

Reverend King stated he has been, and still is, very concerned regarding the matter of communism in the civil rights movement. He stated he knew that the Director was very concerned because he bore the responsibility of security in the Nation. Reverend King stated that from a strong philosophical point of view he could never become a communist inasmuch as he recognizes this to be a crippling totalitarian disease. He stated that as a Christian he could never accept communism. He claimed that when he learns of the identity of a communist in his midst he immediately deals with the problem by removing this man. He stated there have been one or two communists who were engaged in fund raising for the SCLC. Reverend King then corrected himself to say that these one or two men were former communists and not Party members at the present time. He then identified "Jack O'Dell" as an example. He stated that he had insisted that O'Dell leave his staff because the success of his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was far more important than friendship with O'Dell.

The Director interrupted King to state that the FBI had learned from his experience that the communists move in when trouble starts. The Director explained that communists thrive on chaos. The Director mentioned that his riot report to the President reflected the opportunistic efforts of communists. He then stated that communists have no interest in the future of the Negro race and that King, of all people, should be aware of this fact. The Director spoke briefly of communist attempts to infiltrate the labor movement.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director told King and his associates that the FBI shares the same despair which the Negroes suffer when Negro leaders refused to accept the deep responsibility they have in the civil rights movement. He stated that when Negroes are encouraged not to cooperate with the FBI this sometimes frustrates or delays successful solution of investigations. The Director told King that he had personally gone to Mississippi to meet with Governor Paul Johnson inasmuch as there had been practically no liaison between the Department of Justice, the President and the State of Mississippi beforehand. The Director stated that upon meeting Governor Johnson the Governor explained honestly that he was a segregationist, however, abhorred violence. The Director stated that he had told Governor Johnson they had a common meeting ground inasmuch as he was in Mississippi to put an end to violence and brutality. The Director told Governor Johnson that he would like to do this in collaboration with the State Police, however, if the FBI could not receive such cooperation we would do it on our own. The Director then made reference to watermoccasins, rattlesnakes and redneck sheriffs, in that order, who still exist in Mississippi who represent the trashy type of characters who are promoting civil rights violations. The Director told King that we had trained twenty representatives of the Mississippi State Highway Patrol and that this had represented a good move to promote better cooperation and solution of civil rights cases.

The Director told Reverend King that the FBI had put the "fear of God" in the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). He told King that we knew of the identity of the murderers of the three civil rights workers and that these murderers would soon be brought to trial. The Director then spoke of the terror in Mississippi backwoods and of the fact that sheriffs and deputy sheriffs participate in crimes of violence. He summarized by telling King that we, therefore, are under the same strain that sincere Negro leaders are under. The Director added that the KKK constantly damns the FBI and that we have currently been classified as the "Federal Bureau of Integration" in Mississippi.

The Director told King that many cases, which have been brought about as a result of FBI investigation, must be tried in State Court. He spoke of the difficulty in obtaining a verdict of guilty in instances in which white juries are impaneled in cases involving white men. The Director spoke of the KKK involvement in the Lemuel Penn case just outside of Athens, Georgia. He stated this was an outrageous miscarriage of justice in that the defendants, despite the open and shut evidence on the part of the FBI, had been acquitted.

The Director made it clear to Reverend King and his associates that the FBI could not state whether a conviction would be obtained or not in the case involving the murdered three civil rights victims. He stated, however, that the FBI has excellent evidence in this case. The Director then explained that it was most necessary for the FBI not to "jump the gun" unless we had sufficient evidence in which a case could be brought to trial.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

The Director made reference to Reverend King's allegation that the FBI deals or associates with law enforcement officers who have been involved in civil rights violations. He stated emphatically that, "I'll be damned if the FBI has associated with any of these people nor will we be associated with them in the future." The Director explained that the FBI, not only because of the very nature of the law but also because of the background of our investigative employees, was in full sympathy with the sincere aspects of the civil rights movement. He stated that the FBI constantly needs cooperation and assistance in order to solve cases. He added that he made it a point, several years ago, to transfer northern Special Agents to southern offices. He stated that, for the most part, northern-born Agents are assigned civil rights cases in the South. The Director added that he feels that our Special Agents, regardless of where they are born, will investigate a case impartially and thoroughly. He mentioned, however, that it was unfair to the Agent and the FBI to "have a strike against him" in that criticism had been leveled over the fact that southern Agents would not give Negroes a "fair shake." The Director stated that such criticism was entirely unjustifiable and that no case had ever been brought to our attention proving such a fact.

The Director made reference to the recent case in McComb, Mississippi, in which nine men had been charged with burning churches and violence against Negroes. He stated this again was a miscarriage of justice. He added that the judge's decision in releasing the defendants because they had learned their lesson and were merely youths was entirely wrong and that it caused some people to question where youth really began. He explained that some of the defendants had been in their 40's. The Director added that a deal probably, of course, had been made, however, this would certainly not represent any deterrent to future actions of violence by these men.

The Director explained that there is a great misunderstanding today among the general public and particularly the Negro race as to what the FBI can and cannot do in the way of investigations. The Director emphasized that the FBI cannot recommend prosecution or declination of prosecution. He stated that Agents cannot make "on the spot" arrests. He stated that the FBI merely investigates and then the Department of Justice determines whether prosecution be entertained or not. The Director added that the question is sometimes raised why prosecution is not scheduled sooner. He stated this, of course, was not the responsibility of the FBI in any way whatsoever. He pointed out that our civil rights investigations are conducted in a very thorough and expeditious manner once the Department has authorized such investigations.

The Director spoke of the FBI's successful penetration of the KKK. He stated that the FBI has interviewed all members of the KKK in Mississippi and has served notice to these members that if trouble occurs we plan to come to them first. He stated our penetration of the KKK has been as successful as the manner in which we infiltrated the communists and the Soviet espionage services. He stated that our progress in infiltrating the KKK has been so rapid that Klan members now suspect each other and are fighting among themselves. The Director mentioned that we have two confessions from the killing of the three civil rights workers. He added that the Klan in Mississippi failed to meet for some time because the members of this organization are afraid.



DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

as to the identity of FBI informants in their midst. The Director stated he had personally been an enemy of the KKK for a long time.

He spoke of the FBI's case in Louisiana in the late 1920's in which FBI evidence successfully culminated in the conviction of the top Klan leader. He stated the KKK fully concentrated on Negroes, Jews and Catholics, however, concentration now is strictly on the Negro race.

The Director told the group that in the Lemuel Penn case the defendants have recently been indicted and are to stand trial in Federal Court. He stated the trial would begin sometime next week. He mentioned that the same defendants were responsible for beating Negroes and participation in other acts of violence. The Director added that the FBI's success in infiltrating the KKK has been so extensive that we now sometimes know in advance what the KKK plans to do and take preventive measures accordingly.

The Director explained that in Alabama the FBI cannot deal with the Highway Patrol because of the psychoneurotic tendencies of the Alabama Governor. He stated that the State of Georgia has a good Governor and that the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, while not comparable to the Mississippi Highway Patrol, has cooperated with the FBI.

The Director told Reverend King and his associates that FBI representatives have held several thousand law enforcement conferences in which southern police officers have been educated as to civil rights legislation. He stated this has clearly assisted law enforcement, particularly the FBI, however, admittedly, this represents slow progress, but progress nevertheless. He added that this educational campaign will be continued and that it will eventually take hold. The Director gave the example of a Mississippi Sheriff who recently broke a case as a result of FBI training.

The Director made it very clear to Reverend King and his associates that FBI Agents conduct very thorough interviews in civil rights cases. He stated he would like to know immediately if any of our Special Agents ever act in a supercilious manner or if they mishandle a complaint regarding civil rights. He stated that if the facts reflect that our Agent is in the wrong he will be called on the carpet fast. The Director asked that Reverend King or any of his representatives feel free to call the FBI at any time they have such complaints.

The Director told Reverend King he desired to give him some advice. He stated that one of the greatest things the Negro leaders could accomplish would be to encourage voting registration among their people. Another thing would be to educate people in the skills so that they could compete in the open market. The Director mentioned several professions in which Negroes could easily learn skills. The Director also told King he wanted him to know that registrars in the South were now more active in their actions. He stated that there were less attempts now to prevent Negroes

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

registering inasmuch as the FBI is watching such actions very carefully. The Director told Reverend King that the FBI was making progress in violations regarding discrimination in eating places. He gave as a specific example a restaurant in Atlanta, Georgia, in which surveillances have taken place to ascertain if out-of-state cars are being served at this particular restaurant. The Director stated he personally was in favor of equality in eating places and in schools. He stated emphatically, however, he was not in favor of taking Negro children 10 or 12 miles across town simply because their parents wanted them to go to a school other than those in their specific neighborhood.

The Director told Reverend King that in due time there will be a complete change in the mores of community thinking in the United States regarding the racial problem. He stated that meanwhile the FBI will continue to handle its responsibilities in a thorough and impartial manner. He reiterated that the FBI cannot encourage prosecution in Federal Court despite the fact that some local courts cannot be trusted. He added that some judges cannot be trusted.

The Director praised the Georgia papers that declared the verdict of the Penn case to be a travesty of justice. He added that the Jackson, Mississippi, papers had contained several editorials deploring violence against Negroes and participation in church burnings. The same editorials declared this was no way to solve racial problems. The Director stated that his statements made at a press conference in Jackson, Mississippi, this summer to the effect that he was in Mississippi to see to it that an end was put to the violence of bombings and burning churches had had some affect upon backwoods terrorists.

The Director told King that he wanted to make it very clear that the question is often raised as to whether the FBI will protect civil rights workers or Negroes. He stated that he has in the past and will continue to answer such questions on the basis that the FBI does not have the authority nor the jurisdiction to protect anyone. He stated that when the Department of Justice desires that Negroes be protected this is the responsibility of U. S. Marshals. The Director reiterated that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency and cannot and will not extend itself beyond legislated jurisdiction. The Director repeated very emphatically that while our investigations are very definitely thorough and impartial he wanted to state once again that if Reverend King or any of his associates ever knew of a Special Agent showing bias or prejudice he wanted to know about this matter immediately.

The Director explained that we have civil rights cases not only in the South but also in the northern cities. He gave examples of New York and Chicago. He stated that there have been some cases in Miami, Florida.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment with Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director spoke once again of the necessity of the Negro educating himself in order to compete in manual and professional skills. He mentioned the example of a shoeshine boy in Miami, Florida, who turned out to be, after questioning by the Director, a graduate of Howard University. This shoeshine boy, a Negro, explained to the Director that he could not get a job above the level of shoeshine boy because of the color of his skin. The Director stated this, of course, was wrong and that under no circumstances did he, or anyone in the FBI, share the opinion that the Negro, or any other race, should be kept down. The Director spoke of his pride in Negro Agents and particularly mentioned Special Agent Aubrey Lewis, the former Notre Dame track star who is currently assigned to the New York Division.

The Director spoke of a Miami Special Agent who was transferred to that Office from St. Louis. This Agent explained to the Director on one occasion that he was first a little upset about being transferred to Miami because he felt that his race would be against him. He stated, however, much to his surprise, that the white people in Miami treated him with the greatest of courtesy while people of his own race referred to him as a "fink" simply because he was a representative of law enforcement.

Reverend King interrupted the Director at this point and asked if this same Negro Agent is still assigned to the Miami Division. The Director replied in the affirmative. The Director stated that at a recent dinner Father Hesburgh, the President of Notre Dame University, explained to the Director that his institution had difficulty getting Negroes on the football team because their grades were never high enough. The Director told Reverend King the same thing is true of Negroes who apply for the position of Special Agent. He stated in most instances they lack the qualifications, however, we were very happy to hire any Negro who was qualified for the position. The Director told Reverend King that we, of course, could not let down our qualifications simply because of the color of a person's skin.

The Director told Reverend King and his associates that the problems that he and the Negro leaders have is a mutual problem. He stated in most instances in civil rights matters we have learned that "you are damned if you do and you are damned if you don't." The Director stated nevertheless the FBI would continue to do its job. He stated that we additionally are very proud of 10 or 11 Indian Special Agents and of a number of Special Agents who have Mexican blood in them. He stated that the color of a man's skin makes no difference to the FBI whatsoever, however, we do merit the cooperation and assistance of all groups and it is most unfair when these groups are taught not to cooperate with the FBI.

The Director mentioned that he wanted to make it very plain that the FBI will not tolerate any of our personnel being slapped around. He gave an example of the Lombardozzi case in New York where one of our Agents was jumped by five hoodlums outside a church. He stated these hoodlums were immediately taught a lesson. The Director mentioned that in the war with hoodlums, for every man we lose we must, certain, through legal means of course, that the hoodlums lose the same number.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

The Director proudly spoke of the ability of Agents to outshoot and outfight hoodlums and other individuals who attempted to take advantage of our personnel. He stated the KKK is afraid to "mix" with our Agents. He mentioned that the Klan was "yellow." He stated they are brave as long as they have the majority with them but afraid when they face an equal number.

The Director spoke of the Mack Charles Parker case in Poplarville, Mississippi. He stated that our evidence in this case had been turned over to Governor Coleman, the then Governor of that State. He mentioned that Governor Coleman was a decent type of individual who had immediately seen to it that a State Court received the evidence contributed by the FBI. The Director mentioned that our evidence in this case was excellent, however, the Grand Jury refused to indict the subjects involved in the lynching of Parker.

The Director told Reverend King that in many instances our Agents have been spit upon, they have been refused food and lodging and many things are done to thwart hard-hitting investigations by the FBI. He stated that nevertheless we continue to gather evidence in an expeditious and thorough manner.

Reverend Abernathy stated that the Negroes have a real problem in tearing down the current system of segregated voting tests in the South. He stated it was most important that there be kept alive in the Negro communities a ray of hope. He stated that the Negro people should not be allowed to fall into an atmosphere of despair.

The Director explained that this was a very important point. He stated that real progress has been made in higher wages, voting registration and housing matters. The Director pointed out, however, that such progress has not been emphasized by the rabblers who constantly attempt to stir up the Negroes against the whites. The Director gave as an example the communist, Epton, in New York City. The Director stated that Epton is sometimes pointed to as a person the Negro should emulate because of his militancy. The Director stated this was wrong and it is also wrong to "mislead" Negroes.

Reverend Abernathy stated that the SCLC does not want Negroes like Epton in their movement. He stated that Reverend King, more than anyone else, has prevented people like Epton and the Muslims from taking over the civil rights movement. Reverend Abernathy stated that actually the Negroes are a part of the Federal Government, therefore, anything that represents the Federal Government is an encouragement to the Negro. He added that even the side of a post office building or a Federal courtroom is an encouragement to the Negro. He mentioned that when a Negro receives information that a case in which he has been brutally mistreated is going to Federal Court he feels encouraged over the fact that he will get a fair trial. Reverend Abernathy continued that the same problem is true when a Negro sees an FBI Agent. He stated that the Negro feels open encouragement inasmuch as the FBI will not only handle his case but will serve as a great deterrent to violence.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director stated that the KKK today is represented by common white trash. He stated that the Klan was actually worse than the Communist Party inasmuch as the Klan resorts to violence while the communists usually emulate termites in their activities.

The Director reiterated that King and his associates should feel free to call him at any time when they have knowledge of possible civil rights violations. King replied that over the past few years he has noted amazing signs of progress in the civil rights field. He stated he has been very surprised to see some communities comply with the new civil rights statutes. He stated there still are some pockets of resistance particularly in the South. He added that the SCLC is planning to stimulate voting registration activities in Selma, Alabama, in the near future. He mentioned that some members of his organization have been successful in infiltrating this white community and have learned there is a great potential for violence, in Selma.

The Director interrupted King and briefly detailed five cases in which the FBI has gathered evidence in Selma, Alabama. The Director identified these cases fully, and specifically the case against Sheriff James Clark. The Director mentioned that these cases came about as a result of FBI investigation and that we were continuing our investigations in Selma, Alabama. He mentioned that one case would come to trial on December 9, 1964. The Director particularly made reference to the fact that we have three excellent cases in Selma at the present time.

Reverend King inquired as to whether his representatives should notify the FBI when they arrive in Selma, Alabama. He quickly corrected himself that he knew his representatives should contact the FBI upon arrival, however, he asked the Director what would be the possibilities of FBI Agents being in Selma, Alabama, inasmuch as there appeared to be a potential for violence. The Director specifically asked Reverend King when his activities would take place. Reverend Abernathy indicated such activity would take place around January 1, 1965. The Director clearly explained that FBI Agents would be in Selma, not for the purpose of "protecting" anyone, but for the purpose of observing and reporting to the Department of Justice any possible violations of civil rights that might occur. Reverend King expressed appreciation in this regard.

Reverend King stood up and stated he wished to express his personal thanks for a most fruitful and necessary meeting. The Director told Reverend King that he should get in touch with us at anytime he felt it was necessary.

Reverend King mentioned that there were representatives of the press in the Director's reception room. He turned to me and asked if the FBI planned to make any comment regarding the meeting. I told him that the Director had instructed that we make no comment whatsoever. Reverend King asked the Director if there would be any objections if he read a short prepared statement to the press. The Director told Reverend King this, of course, was up to him.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

In proceeding to the reception room, Reverend King pulled out a press release, hand-written in ink, out of his right coat pocket. This press release obviously had been prepared prior to the time Reverend King arrived at FBI Headquarters. A previous memorandum has been sent through reporting verbatim the comments by King in the Director's reception room.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President concerning the meeting between the Director, Reverend King and his associates.

G.K.  
B>

The General Investigative Division, Civil Rights Section, should take due note of the proposed activities in Selma, Alabama, and should instruct the appropriate office to make certain that Agents are on hand to observe activities in Selma, Alabama, on or around January 1, 1965.

100-110  
12-10-64  
.../cac  
yes  
Jck  
JAM  
✓

December 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

In response to his request to see me, I conferred for about an hour with the Reverend Martin Luther King in my office yesterday afternoon. He was accompanied by the following members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which he is President: Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, Treasurer; Andrew J. Young, Program Director; and Walter E. Fauntroy, Director of the organization's Washington, D. C., office.

The meeting was most amicable and King indicated that he had requested to see me in an effort to clear up any misunderstandings that we might have. He apologized for remarks attributed to him criticizing the FBI and me with specific reference to Albany, Georgia. He stated that in this connection he had either been misquoted or there had been an outright misrepresentation.

He said that while some Negroes have complained to him that the FBI has been ineffective in investigating civil rights violations, he personally discounts such complaints and said he appreciated the fine work the FBI has been doing in this regard.

He said he had been critical of the FBI only in connection with instances where our Agents, who had been furnished complaints involving police brutality, were, thereafter, observed

- 1 - Mr. Belmont (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Rosen (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan (Sent with cover memo)

- 1 - Miss Gandy (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Miss Holmes (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Jones (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Morrell (Sent with cover memo)

NOTE: See DeLoach to Mohr Memo of same date, captioned "Martin Luther King Appointment with Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64."

GTQ:blh and smg (11)

DEC 16 1964

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## The President

being friendly toward these same officers. He said situations like this serve to breed Negro distrust for the FBI. I advised Reverend King that I was aware that allegations of this nature had been made and that I had looked into the matter. It was determined that these charges were without basis.

Reverend King categorically denied ever having made a personal attack on me and also denied that he had ever instructed Negroes not to cooperate with the FBI. I told him that when Negroes are encouraged not to cooperate with the FBI, the solution of cases is delayed and sometimes frustrated. He said, to the contrary, he encouraged such cooperation. He explained that Negroes in many areas are frustrated. He said he feels it is his duty to keep them from expressing their frustrations through violence. Reverend King made reference to my report to you on the rioting that took place in some of our northern cities last summer. He indicated he considers it an excellent analysis of the situation.

Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement was discussed. Reverend King stated that as a Christian he could never accept communism and that he shared my concern with the problem. He described communism as a "crippling, totalitarian disease." He said that while there are "one or two" former communists currently engaged in fund-raising activities for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, he does not tolerate communists in his organization. He cited the communist background of Hunter Pitts O'Dell and noted that he considered the success of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference more important to him than his friendship with O'Dell. Consequently, he claimed, O'Dell is no longer associated with his organization.



The President

The problems confronting the FBI in civil rights investigations were explained to the Reverend King in detail. I made it clear to him that cases developed as a result of FBI investigation must often be tried in local courts where there are difficulties involved in getting white juries to convict white defendants in connection with civil rights matters. I cited some of our experiences in this regard.

He and his associates were advised of the recent conferences held for local law enforcement officers throughout the United States for the purpose of fully acquainting them with civil rights legislation and their responsibilities in connection with same. I told him that the results of this campaign have been encouraging in the cooperation received.

I pointed out to him that there is a great misunderstanding today among the general public and particularly the Negro race as to the FBI's role in civil rights matters. I emphasized that the FBI is an investigative agency, that it cannot recommend prosecution or make on-the-spot arrests where Federal laws have not been violated. He was advised that the FBI will not protect civil rights workers or Negroes because the FBI does not have the authority or jurisdiction to do so. He was also advised that the FBI cannot and will not exceed its authority. Reverend King was told that our investigations are conducted in a thorough and impartial manner, but if he or any of his associates knew of a Special Agent who had shown bias or prejudice, I wanted to know about it immediately.

Reverend King indicated that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is planning to engage in voter registration activities in Selma, Alabama, on or about January 1, 1965, and that he has learned that there could be violence. I told him that our Agents would be on the scene, not for the purpose of rendering protection, but to observe and report to the Department of Justice any possible violations of civil rights that may occur.

The President

Reverend King expressed his gratitude for having the opportunity to meet me. He said he felt our meeting had been a productive one, and I told him to feel free to get in touch with me any time he thought it necessary to do so.

Respectfully submitted,

J. EDGAR HOOVER

- 4 -

8:51 p. m.

December 1, 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. BELMONT  
MR. MOHR  
MR. DE LOACH  
MR. ROSEN

Acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach returned my earlier call to him and I advised him that I had seen Dr. Martin Luther King, who was accompanied by Dr. Abernathy and two other cohorts. I stated that King was a very persuasive speaker and Mr. Katzenbach indicated King was a great public speaker and that was about all he could say for King.

I advised Mr. Katzenbach that I took the ball away from King at the beginning, that King was most laudatory about the Bureau's work and so was Abernathy. I further advised Mr. Katzenbach that King had a press statement already written out to hand the newsmen in my reception room; that I refused to make any comment or statement myself; that King read his statement about having an open channel of communications and all working for civil rights. I stated that King did not have in his press statement the very commendatory remarks he made, that he could not have been higher in his praise of the Bureau and of the great job we have done in the South. Mr. Katzenbach said that was too bad.

I told Mr. Katzenbach that I just wanted him to know that I had gone through with it.

Mr. Katzenbach then asked if I were going to tell the President about the situation in Mississippi - about the arrests - at some point. I answered yes, and Mr. Katzenbach said the President should be informed. I advised him that we had not decided when it will be done, that it is being considered.

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
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J

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, December 1, 1964  
Mohr; DeLoach, Rosen

Mr. Katzenbach stated my people had discussed it with him and he thought the way the Bureau proposes to go ahead is the right way. I said I thought so, too. Mr. Katzenbach said he had told Jim Malley this and suggested that I tell the President that the Department had approved this way. Mr. Katzenbach stated it was such a great job the Bureau people did down there he would like the President to hear it from me.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

|                 |
|-----------------|
| SENT FROM D. O. |
| TIME 10:37 AM   |
| DATE 12/2/64    |
| BY J.E.H.       |

*We should send Katzenbach  
a copy of my letter to  
White House.*

*H.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 12-2-64

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: RADIO AND TELEVISION COVERAGE  
REGARDING DIRECTOR'S MEETING  
WITH REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
12-1-64

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
 P/B  
 [Signature]  
 [Signature]

The Director's meeting with King yesterday at 3:30 p. m. was a headline item on television and radio newscasts last night and this morning.

and Agents of the Crime Records Division monitored local radio and television stations/noted that the first mentions of the meeting began to appear about 6:20 last night on radio. The reports covered these main points: that King advised he had requested this meeting, that it was most amicable, that "new understandings" had been reached, and that the FBI expected to make arrests shortly in the case of the three murdered civil rights workers in Mississippi. Some reporters speculated that the arrests might involve persons in "official capacities."

The meeting was covered on 11 o'clock newscasts on all local television channels which showed films of King leaving the Director's Office and commenting on the points noted above.

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST:

In Mr. Lewis' 7 o'clock radio newscast over the Mutual Broadcasting System, he reported the meeting as above. Then he continued to comment for several minutes regarding the background of this matter. He said that on the record, the situation must be embarrassing to King. He pointed out that King's allegations that FBI Agents in Southern offices were, for the most part, Southerners and unsympathetic to civil rights had been refuted. He said that Mr. Hoover had attempted unsuccessfully two years ago to discuss these matters with King. He went on to state that the FBI cannot offer protection since its function is solely to investigate. As an example of FBI jurisdiction, Mr. Lewis noted that in a Dawson, Georgia, church burning some time ago, the FBI, as a result of excellent investigative work, arrested four subjects. The arrests were based on the supposition that the church burning was designed to intimidate Negro voters. When it was later established that the subjects had other motives, the FBI stepped out of the case and the subjects were prosecuted in state court where they received prison terms.

Enclosure *Sent 12/2/64*  
 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure *EX-100*  
 CJH:sas (6) *2/ks*  
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*Small print at bottom of page:*  
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M. A. Jones to DeLoach memo  
RE: RADIO AND TELEVISION COVERAGE

Mr. Lewis pointed out that the FBI has numerous problems in connection with these cases because of the reluctance of Southern juries to fairly evaluate the evidence. As an example, he cited the case of William Rosecrans who was convicted in a Jacksonville, Florida, bombing matter. As an outgrowth of this case, other individuals were indicted for the same crime and, in spite of overwhelming evidence against them, they were acquitted by a local jury just last week.

CHARLES MURPHY, NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY (NBC) COMMENTATOR:

Following the 11 o'clock regular news report on WRC-TV, Murphy offered an editorial comment concerning this meeting. He said that "King came and turned the other cheek." and that this was in keeping with the character of a man who was noted for peaceful purposes and who was a Nobel prize winner. He said that it was not possible to imagine "J. Edgar Hoover going to King" under similar circumstances. Murphy said that King had certainly enhanced his position in the way he handled this matter. He also alleged that it was evident that President Johnson had asked the Director to see King and it was only for this reason that the meeting materialized.

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of Mr. Lewis' remarks, that the attached letter of appreciation over the Director's signature be sent to him.

✓

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tolson     | _____ |
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TO : Mr. Mohr *12/22/64*

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING

DATE: December 1, 1964

Following is a transcript of the brief statement which the Reverend Martin Luther King made to newsmen immediately after leaving the Director's Office this afternoon. While this is not a verbatim account of the statement, it is as near accurate as possible:

I am pleased I had the opportunity to meet with Mr. Hoover this afternoon and I might say the discussion was quite amicable. I sought to make it clear to Mr. Hoover that the plight of Negroes in the South is such that there must not be any misunderstanding between the FBI and civil rights leaders but must be a determination to defend the rights of all.

We talked specifically about those areas where SCLC will be working in the months ahead. We discussed areas where there will be strong resistance to the implementation of the civil rights bill. We made it clear that we found our most difficult problems in Alabama and Mississippi and in these communities there are areas where we see a great deal of potential and sometimes actual terror.

I sincerely hope we can forget the confusion of the past and get on with the job the Congress, the Supreme Court and the President have outlined as America's most crucial problem; namely, the job of giving and providing security and justice to all the people in the world.

NBC's Russ Ward and one of the NBC men equipped with a tape recorder followed King down the hall and on through the courtyard where his car was parked. According to the NBC technician, King was talking with them all the time. He said that King expressed "the usual pratter" and the only statement of any consequence was something to the effect that arrests in the Mississippi murder case could be expected within the next few days.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont ✓
- 1 - Mr. Jones ✓
- 1 - Mr. Rosen ✓
- 1 - Mr. Morrell ✓

REC-49  
*12/22/64*

DWB:saj *SM*  
(6)

**EX-112**  
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DEC 22 1964

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*B'good*  
*Phyllis*

UPI-129

(KING-HOOVER)

WASHINGTON--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. MET TODAY WITH FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER, WHO RECENTLY CALLED THE NEGRO LEADER "THE MOST NOTORIOUS LIAR IN THE COUNTRY."

KING, FLANKED BY THREE ASSISTANTS, MADE NO STATEMENT AS HE WALKED DIRECTLY INTO HOOVER'S OFFICE WITH ASSISTANT FBI DIRECTOR CARTHA DELOACH.

DELOACH GREETED KING IN THE HALLWAY OUTSIDE HOOVER'S OFFICE AND WAS INTRODUCED TO KING'S AIDES, DR. RALPH ABERNETHY, SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE WHICH KING HEADS, AND DR. ANDREW YOUNG, ANOTHER KING ASSISTANT.

THE FOURTH PERSON IN KING'S PARTY WAS THE REV. WALTER FAUNTROY, HEAD OF THE WASHINGTON OFFICE OF THE SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE.

BOTH THE HALLWAY OUTSIDE HOOVER'S OFFICE AND THE RECEPTION ROOM WERE CROWDED BY NEWSMEN AND CAMERAMEN.

SOURCES SAID HOOVER WAS NOT EXPECTED TO HAVE ANY STATEMENT AFTER THE MEETING.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE



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 Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
 Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# King Colleagues, Mrs. King Deny Time's Version of Hoover Meeting

ATLANTA, Aug. (UPI) — Three members of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's staff who say they attended a meeting between Mr. King and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover denied today a Time Magazine report that the Director confronted the civil rights leader with wiretap evidence of extra-marital activities.

Coretta S. King, in a separate statement, also denied the Time story which said Dr. King toned down criticism of the FBI only after Hoover showed him wiretap tapes which revealed "extensive and vigorous sexual activities."

"The conversations between my husband and Mr. Hoover, which he (King) related to me, do not correspond at all to the Time magazine report," Mrs. King said. "The love, concern and devotion which Martin expressed toward me and the children are our most precious and treasured memories."

The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Dr. King's successor as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Rev. Andrew J. Young and the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy of Washington, D.C., said they were all present during the meeting between Dr. King and Hoover "... and

at no point did Mr. Hoover lecture Dr. King or even comment on his personal life."

The statement issued jointly by the three men said, "It is even more blatantly untrue that Dr. King slowed down his activities because he felt threatened. History is the witness here."

In Chicago, Rev. Jesse Jackson, national director of the SCLC's Operation Breadbasket program, said at a news conference that "Mr. Hoover has stooped to the lowest rungs of viciousness and maliciousness in his underhanded dissemination of information regarding a deceased man." He urged President Nixon to suspend Hoover.

*J. Hoover*  
*A-8*

- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
- Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_ *A-8*
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_



CORETTA KING  
 ... disputes article

Date           AUG 11 1970



MARTIN LUTHER KING  
... met with Hoover

# Dr. King Wiretaps Reported

NEW YORK, Aug. 9 (AP)—Time magazine says FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover confronted the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1964 with some wiretaps revealing Dr. King's alleged extramarital activities; and the Civil Rights leader later toned down his criticism of the FBI.

An issue of the magazine released today gives Time's version of the 1964 Hoover-King meeting in an article discussing a new book about Dr. King by novelist John Williams.

In his book, "The King God Didn't Save," Williams says the FBI started tapping Dr. King's telephone and bugging his hotel rooms in 1963.

Time says Williams reports that the surveillance uncovered no subversion but "dished up an astonishing amount of information about King's extensive and vigorous sexual activities."

Williams quotes one anonymous source as telling him that King used a code. "A very attractive woman was called 'Doctor,'" the informant is quoted as having said. "I forget the other names for women not so attractive.

Time says "most newspapers ignored the rumors and leaks to them of King's extramarital activities, but their existence undermined King's effectiveness just the same."

"The effect, says Williams, was one of slow political assassination; King was spared it only by the bullet of James Earl Ray," Time said.

Ray pleaded guilty to killing Dr. King in 1969.

In presenting its version of the Hoover-King meeting, Time said:

"Williams has the correct outline of the FBI tape story. What he does not have is precisely what happened at the celebrated meeting between FBI Director Hoover and King in 1964.

"Hoover, Time learned, explained to King just what damaging private detail he had on the tapes and lectured him that his morals should be those befitting a Nobel Prize winner. He also suggested that King should tone down his criticism of the FBI. King took the advice. His decline in black esteem followed, a decline scathingly narrated by Williams."

The magazine says Williams argues in his book that Dr. King was the complicitous victim of a "white power" plot to manipulate and ultimately destroy him.

The fact that the FBI had been bugging Dr. King was revealed last year by FBI agent Robert Nichols in a courtroom in Houston, Tex., where boxer Cassius Clay was seeking to vacate a sentence for refusal to be inducted into the Army. One of the monitored conversations was between Dr. King and Clay.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
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- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*C. D. Brennan*  
*C. Moore*  
*G. Lass*

- The Washington Post Times Herald A 7
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date 8-10-78

# Meeting With Hoover

# Amazes King

By Drew Pearson

More details have now leaked out regarding the dramatic talk between J. Edgar Hoover and the man he called "the most notorious liar in the country."

As previously reported, the meeting, which began at 3:30 p.m., was a m i c a b l e and lasted so long — with Hoover doing most of the talking — that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. almost missed his 5 p.m. plane to Atlanta. An aide had to phone to ask that the plane be held for five minutes.

The most surprising statement made by the FBI chief to the Negro leader was this advice: "What you need to do is educate the Negro and get him to vote."

Dr. King and his associates who attended the meeting were so flabbergasted that they didn't come back at Hoover to remind him that the drive to register and vote was the whole reason why Negroes had been beaten and brutalized in some sections of the South.

Hoover made no apology to Dr. King for his famous statement at his women's press conference calling Dr.

King a liar, though Dr. King gave him an opening. He told Hoover that at no time had he made the statement attributed to him criticizing FBI agents for being derelict in their duties because of their Southern background.

However, Hoover was quite eloquent and convincing regarding his description of the FBI's problems in the South, and gave the Negro leaders the definite impression that he was sincere and determined regarding future policy. He said that if there were any instances of failure by FBI agents, Dr. King should bring them to his attention and he would act immediately.



Pearson

## FBI's Problems

Hoover also listed some of the problems the FBI faces in the Deep South.

The No. 1 problem, he said, is the difficulty of getting juries to convict. He cited the murder of Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn, the Reserve officer killed while traveling from military duty in Georgia. The evidence against the murderers, Hoover said, was overwhelming, yet a jury had failed to convict.

The No. 2 problem, Hoover said, is that of Southern law-enforcement officers. Sometimes they themselves have been responsible for beatings and even murders. He cited the murder of three civil

rights workers in Philadelphia, Miss.

Hoover said he knew the kind of treachery of which these local officers were guilty, and understood the glaring injustice done to Negroes in some parts of the South.

Hoover kept reminding Dr. King that the FBI is only an investigative agency, that it has no police power beyond that.

## Negro's One Hope

Dr. King, in turn, emphasized to the FBI chief that the Negro's one ray of hope is the Federal Government. In state courts, the Negro cannot expect to get justice, but the Federal Government is the Negro's one hope of combating despair.

Therefore, the FBI, representing as it does the Federal Government, is a symbol of fairness, Dr. King explained. When the Negro talked of the FBI, he had said, in the past: "Now we are going to get results."

But today, said Dr. King, we have sometimes wondered whether the FBI was with us.

Hoover seemed to think that recent criticism by Negroes was a personal attack on him.

During the conversation, Hoover also seemed inclined to lump all Negroes together, didn't differentiate between

radical trouble-makers and the responsible nonviolent groups.

While he made it clear that he understood what a wilderness the Deep South is when it comes to law enforcement, he also made it clear that he has no great understanding of what the civil rights struggle is all about.

In brief, Hoover appeared to his callers as a great cop but not a humanitarian.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
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- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

- The Washington Post and Times Herald **E 15**
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
  - The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
  - New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
  - New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
  - New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_
  - New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
  - New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
  - The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
  - The Worker \_\_\_\_\_
  - The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
  - The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
  - The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
  - People's World \_\_\_\_\_
  - Date 12-5-64

SSC Letter 7/8/75 - Item 2f

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : Mr. J. A. Sizoo *JAS*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: December 3, 1964

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Rachner

*B. G. ...*

*TEOR*

SA Howard Kinnally of the New York Office called at 2:15 a.m., 12-3-64 and advised Night Supervisor B. C. Rachner of the following pertinent portions of a conversation at 11:57 p.m., 12-2-64 between Bayard Rustin and Harry Wachtel as reported by NY 4212-S\*. Rustin is the former Young Communist League member and Wachtel the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, an adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Both are close advisors to Martin Luther King.

Wachtel: "Humphreys is coming. I take the announcement about Humphrey as what I call a follow through on this Hoover thing. The air was cleared and I think there should be some publicity about it. Cleve (Cleveland Robinson) is going to put it on posters." (New York Office observes above probably refers to Vice President elect Hubert Humphrey and speculates that possibly Humphrey will accompany King to Oslo, or be in New York to welcome him back from Oslo.)

In commenting on a press conference planned by King, Rustin said he, Rustin, "has got to figure out something for the press conference for King." Wachtel replied, "I think Martin has to not spell out too much of this Hoover business."

Rustin continued, "We had a fantastic meeting at Randolph's (A. Phillip Randolph) this morning of the big leaders or their representatives. Roy (Wilkins) who had gotten this story 3 days ago (presumably refers to allegations of King's supporters that FBI is pressuring King), went to both the White House and the FBI in the name of the Leadership Conference which includes all the Negroes and all the Whites and made it quite clear that, whether or not they had anything he didn't give a damn."

BCR:jcf

(11)

CONTINUED - OVER

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

12/4/64  
 NY 4212-S\*  
 ...

UNRECORDED COPY IN 100-1-100-600

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Rustin went on to praise Wilkins for having gone to the top about this "supposed effort" when he learned of it 3 days ago rather than having just passed it along as James Farmer had done when Farmer learned of it. In reply to Wachtel's question whether Wilkins had acted before Martin's visit with the Director, Rustin answered "yes."

Wachtel then observed, "In other words, while we were talking he (Wilkins) was already acting and therefore this call of Martin's (visit with Director) was like 'rapping ribbon'." Rustin answered, "Right, and futhermore, if anything happens we have got a line from here to California that will fall on them like a satellite."

Wachtel and Rustin went on to agree that what Roy Wilkins had done was a "terrific thing" and that "J. Edgar Hoover will now pull back his horns." Rustin added that Wilkins had made a 3rd point, namely that "when a society has produced a Martin Luther King, to permit anything to malign him is to undermine the morality in this nation." Wachtel said this was a great statement and wished "there was nothing there that did undermine the morality."

Rustin also commented that the "gal on Long Island had been contained" and that he had had lunch with Clarence Jones. He concluded by stating, "We've got to help people be careful man."

New York Office is submitting a teletype incorporating complete information furnished by NY-4212-S\*.

ACTION:

For information.

BR  
WCS  
RR  
J  
TESUR

FBI

Date: 12/3/64

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Evans
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM (COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN RACIAL MATTERS)

RE NY telephone call to Bureau on 12/2/64, reporting following information:

On 12/2/64, ~~NY 100-4212-8~~ <sup>RESUR</sup>, a source close to BAYARD RUSTIN, advised RUSTIN in conversation with HARRY WACHTEL that date, during which time they discussed matters concerning MARTIN LUTHER KING. WACHTEL related that HUMPHREY (Vice-President elect, HUBERT HUMPHREY) was coming (alluding to an affair being planned in NY to honor KING when he returns from Europe). ~~RUSTIN inquired if GLEVE (CLEVELAND ROBINSON, President of Local 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union) had been informed, prompting WACHTEL to reply affirmatively, adding that "they" (KING and group) would return from Europe on 12/16/64.~~

WACHTEL and RUSTIN also discussed a press conference of his (KING) which is to be on Friday (12/4/64). RUSTIN said he was asked by KING to think

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6670) (CIRM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1 - New York

JMK:cjs  
(7)

NOT RECORDED  
DEC 15 1964

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DO NOT ERASE

Handwritten signatures and initials, including "Baker's".

Handwritten notes and signatures, including "11/14/64" and "4/1/64".

NY 100-153735

over what he should say, and asked WACHTEL to consider ideas along that line.

Continuing, WACHTEL said he had "covered the money business" (alluding to money for use of those accompanying KING to Europe) with ANDY (ANDREW YOUNG.) WACHTEL said he spoke to ANDY "tonight" (12/2) and that he is coming to NY (<sup>Thurs</sup>Monday, 12/3) and will be at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel.

Referring to the HUMPHREY announcement (to attend the KING affair) WACHTEL remarked that he interpreted the announcement as "a follow-through on the HOOVER thing". BAYARD replied, "Obviously." WACHTEL said the air was cleared, and "I think there should be some publicity about it: CLEVE (CLEVELAND ROBINSON) is going to put it on the posters." RUSTIN said CLEVE was operating in a very devious way, and "I'm terrified." In reply to a question of WACHTEL as to what this meant, RUSTIN said he (CLEVE) had refused to hire any people, and was trying to do it all by himself with people from Local 65, some of whom are not too efficient. RUSTIN said he would talk to KING tomorrow (12/3) and get him to apply some pressure to CLEVE. HARRY WACHTEL said he was to invite CLEVE to the press conference, prompting RUSTIN to remark that CLEVE was very arrogant, that "you have to bludgeon him." WACHTEL asked RUSTIN to cut him in about CLEVE. RUSTIN replied, "We've got to tell CLEVE that we are frightened about this and we want <sup>him</sup> to hire some people. WACHTEL asked, "Do we have anyone to hire," prompting this reply from RUSTIN, "I have two or three people and I have sent them to him, and he says that there is no money and he doesn't want to be caught with a pig in a poke." That's not the way to put on a meeting." WACHTEL said, "Not one that is sort of mushrooming up in big wheels and so forth. I'll add my licks and as far as the press conference, I just think that MARTIN has to not spell out too much of this HOOVER business. That's my main feeling."

In attempting to elaborate on the above, NY airtel and letter of 11/10/64, reported that RUSTIN



NY 100-153735

contacted ROBINSON on 11/7/64, and discussed an affair to be held when KING returns from Europe. RUSTIN said WACHTEL had gotten SAUL MILLS to help out with affair. ROBINSON said he did not remember MILLS except from the "Old Progressive days." RUSTIN said he (MILLS) could do some big work but "they" do not want him out in front.

In continuing their conference, RUSTIN told WACHTEL that "we" had a fantastic meeting at Randolph's (A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Pres. of the NALC) yesterday (12/2) of the big leaders or their representatives. RUSTIN said "ROY, (WILKINS, NAACP) who had gotten his story three days ago, went to the White House and to the FBI in the name of the leadership conference which includes all the Negroes and all the whites and made it quite clear that whether or not they had anything, he didn't give a damn what if they used it (alluding to KING's immoral relations)". WACHTEL answered, "This was an attack on the movement." RUSTIN said, "Not only that, but that the movement would have to begin to fight the JOHNSON administration because it was JOHNSON's responsibility." WACHTEL asked if he (WILKINS) went right to the top. RUSTIN replied, "Yes sir." Prompting WACHTEL to ask if that was before MARTIN's visit (with the Director). RUSTIN said that ROY (WILKINS) found out three days ago about "The supposed effort" causing WACHTEL to say "And he didn't just do what FARMER (JAMES FARMER, CORE) did, just pass it along, but did something." RUSTIN said, "he (WILKINS) went himself. I have great respect for ROY as a result of that." WACHTEL replied, "In other words, while we were talking, he was acting." RUSTIN said he was already acting. WACHTEL replied, "And therefore, this call of MARTIN's was like wrapping the ribbon." RUSTIN said yes, adding, "And furthermore if anything happens (obviously referring to a leak about KING's illicit affair) we have got a line from here to California that will fall on them (THE FBI) like a satellite." (obviously referring to a letter writing campaign to the President urging the Director's dismissal.) WACHTEL replied, "That's terrific--now what about that gal on Long Island."

NY 100-153735

RUSTIN said she was contained. WACHTEL said, "Well, I think that probably J. EDGAR (HOOVER) will pull back his horns. My respect for ROY has gone up immeasurably." RUSTIN said his (WILKINS) point was that when a society has produced a MARTIN LUTHER KING, to permit anything to malign him, is to undermine morality in this nation. WACHTEL answered that it was a great statement and "I only wish that there was nothing there that did undermine the morality."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|               |       |
|---------------|-------|
| Tolson        | _____ |
| Sullivan      | _____ |
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| Bishop        | _____ |
| Brennan, C.D. | _____ |
| Callahan      | _____ |
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| Walters       | _____ |
| Soyars        | _____ |
| Tele. Room    | _____ |
| Holmes        | _____ |
| Gandy         | _____ |

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 8/10/70

FROM : G. C. Moore

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Glass

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
MEETING WITH DIRECTOR  
12/1/64

To advise you of an erroneous account of the meeting between the Director and King.

JOHN WILLIAMS

The Washington Post, 8/10/70, page 2, contained the attached article regarding a book by John A. Williams on King entitled "The King God Didn't Save." According to the article, Time magazine, in reviewing Williams's book, indicated that the Director confronted King with wiretap information on King's extra-marital activities and as a result King toned down his criticism of the FBI. The Time article is attached.

This account is false. The attached memorandum by C. D. DeLoach dated 12/2/64 regarding the meeting indicates the Director did not mention any wiretap information nor did he refer to King's unsavory personal conduct. As a matter of fact, at the outset of the meeting King told the Director that any criticism of the Director and the FBI attributed to King was either misquoted or an outright misrepresentation. An account of the conference as contained in Mr. DeLoach's memorandum was furnished to the White House by letter dated 12/2/64, copy attached.

Williams, the author, also wrote "The Man Who Cried 'I am'" which contained a fictional account of a Federal plan to terminate the minority threat to America and the free world by evacuating minority groups and eliminating members of minorities in the Armed Services by sending them where they were likely to be killed. Extremists have distributed this account from Williams's book as fact to arouse the Negro community and to recruit extremists.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Enclosures  
100-442529

ENCLOSURE

REC 18  
ST-121

AUG 24 1970

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

CEG:bjr/mk  
(6)

270

66 AUG 31 1970

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

# *Time Says Hoover Confronted Dr. King on Extramarital Actions*

NEW YORK, Aug. 9 (AP)—Time magazine says FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover confronted the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1964 with some wiretaps revealing Dr. King's alleged extramarital activities, and the civil rights leader later toned down his criticism of the FBI.

An issue of the magazine released today gives Time's version of the 1964 Hoover-King meeting in an article discussing a new book about Dr. King by novelist John Williams.

In his book, "The King God

Didn't Save," Williams says the FBI started tapping Dr. King's telephone and bugging his hotel rooms in 1963.

Time says Williams reports that the surveillance uncovered no subversion but "did turn up an astonishing amount of information about King's extensive and vigorous sexual activities."

In presenting its version of the Hoover-King meeting, Time said:

"Williams has the correct outline of the FBI tape story. What he does not have is precisely what happened at the

celebrated meeting between FBI Director Hoover and King in 1964.

"Hoover, Time learned, explained to King just what damaging private detail he had on the tapes and lectured him that his morals should be those befitting a Nobel Prize winner. He also suggested that King should tone down his criticism of the FBI. King took the advice. His decline in black esteem followed, a decline scathingly narrated by Williams."

WASHINGTON POST 8-10-70.

100-106670-3792

ENCLOSURE

AUG 26 1970  
BC

ones. "The white press," Williams says, "so thoroughly indoctrinated King and his people with the idea that the capitulation of the bus company [following the Montgomery, Ala., boycott] was a victory for the blacks that they believed it; believed, too, that other things would inevitably fall like tin soldiers, all in a neat line."

King, says Williams, suffered from a fatal inability to perceive what was happening to him, and believing in himself, continued to lash out at the white power structure. "He did not understand that it had armed him with feather dusters," Williams writes. "He was a black man and therefore always was and always would be naked of power, for he was slow, indeed unable, to perceive the manipulation of white power, and in the end white power killed him."

But not, Williams believes, without some help from King himself, for King

white society: he compromised. Says Williams: "Compromises that seem to favor black people have always turned out to be defeats for them. 'Political expediency' is nonexistent for Negroes. The demands made must be stood by."

The Doctors. Only toward the end of his career, Williams feels, did King fully understand the realities of power in America and begin to take the steps that would have made him a truly effective leader by seeking to unite the nation's poor across class and color lines against the Viet Nam War. This idea, Williams argues, so threatened the hegemony of the white power structure group that it decided that King must be destroyed.

King unwittingly provided the noose. Suspecting that some of his associates had Communist connections, the FBI began tapping King's telephone and bugging his hotel rooms in 1963. From a se-

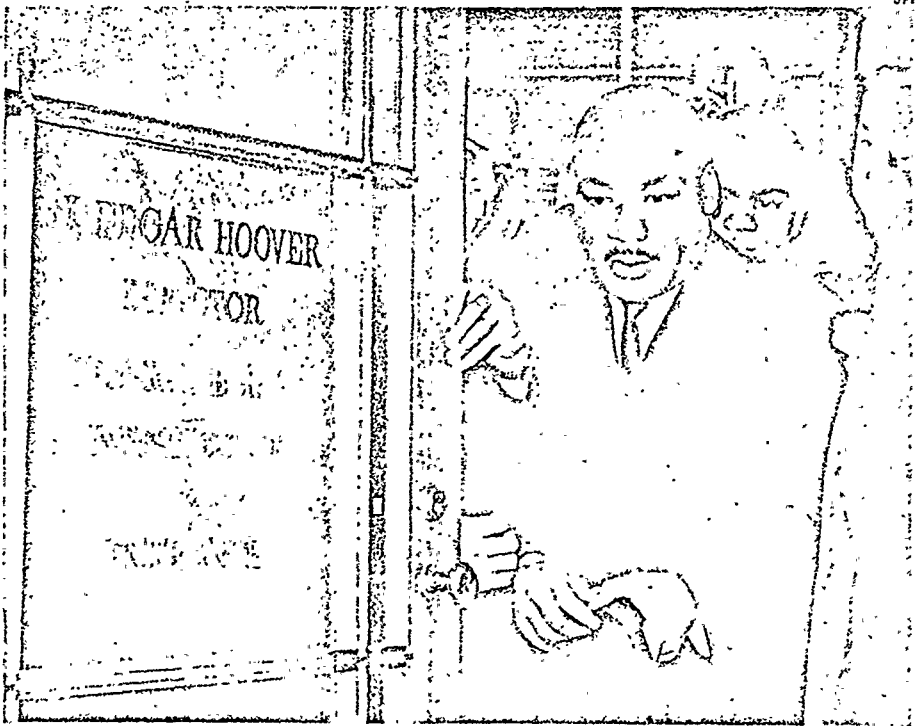
TIME, August 17, 1970  
OPINION p. 12

\* Posthumous Pillory

No black American was so widely honored in his lifetime: yet segregationists denounced Martin Luther King Jr. as a Communist and worse, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover once publicly branded him a liar, and militant blacks eventually came to see him as a "sellout" to the white Establishment. Now a black writer has added yet another—and unlikely—epithet to those fastened on the assassinated leader. In a new book, *The King God Didn't Save* (Coward-McCann, Inc.; \$5.95), Novelist John Williams (*Night Song, The Man Who Cried I Am*) calls King a failure.

Full of frustration and seething black anger, Williams' book is both a compassionate catalogue of King's strengths and achievements and an agonizing reappraisal of his weaknesses. Dedicated to the memory of the man Martin Luther King "could have become had he lived," the book argues that King was the complicitous victim of a "white power" plot to manipulate, castrate and ultimately destroy him.

Fatal inability. Though Williams' work is disorganized and repetitive, its message is clear. Williams believes that white power corrupted and then co-opted King by making him believe that he had power when, in fact, he had none, by granting him minor concessions so that he could not demand major



KING LEAVING HOOVER OFFICE (1964)  
Armed with feather dusters and flawed by hubris.

suffered from the tragic flaw of hubris. An ambitious, middle-class Christian, he sought success and basked in the public recognition that his efforts brought him, says the author, who interviewed many of King's friends and associates in preparing his book. King gloated over a magazine poll that showed him to be the nation's most respected black leader, savored his meetings with presidents and kings, accepted the Nobel Prize as if it were an inalienable right rather than a cherished award.

But he could not, states Williams, relate to the black underclass or understand its impatience with a system that refused to recognize its legitimate demands. Because of this lack of understanding, the angry Williams charges, King did what no black leader can afford to do: he is really to influence

curity viewpoint, the wiretaps uncovered nothing. They established no links between King and the Communists. But, Williams reports, they did turn up an astonishing amount of information about King's extensive and vigorous sexual activities. (According to one of Williams' sources, identified only as Person B, "Martin and the rest of them had a code. A very attractive woman was called 'Doctor.' I forget the other names for women not so attractive." Williams' informant was a "Doctor.")

Private Detail. Most newspapers ignored the rumors and leaks to them of King's extramarital activities, but their existence undermined King's effectiveness just the same. The effect, says Williams, was one of slow political assassination: King was spared it only by the bullet of James Earl Ray.

Williams has the correct outline of the FBI tape story. What he does not have is precisely what happened at the celebrated meeting between FBI Director Hoover and King in 1964. Hoover, TIME learned, explained to King just what damaging private detail he had on the tapes and lectured him that his morals should be those befitting a Nobel prize-winner. He also suggested that King should tone down his criticism of the FBI. King took the advice. His decline in black esteem followed, a de-

line scathingly narrated by Williams. Williams' anger over the slow progress of the fight for equality is more understandable than some of his charges. His depiction of "white power" as "a marsh underfoot for anyone not white . . . treacherous and deadly" is, of course, wildly exaggerated. Far more serious, King himself was less a victim than he was a victor. His leadership brought conscience and cohesion to the cause of black equality, while his faith in the tenets upon which the

country was founded forced Americans to recognize the equity of his demands and Congress to take action to meet them.

King's compromises were not capitulations, but sane and sound recognition of the way progress historically has been wrung from the American system. He may have failed to reach his ultimate goal. But by serving as the catalyst in the formation of a truly national civil rights movement, he laid the groundwork for its possible success in the future.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| Evans      | _____ |
| Gale       | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: December 2, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
APPOINTMENT WITH DIRECTOR  
3:35 P.M., 12-1-64

At Reverend King's request, the Director met with King; Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Dr. Andrew Young, Executive Assistant to King; and Walter J. Auntroy, SCLC representative here in Washington, at 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64, in the Director's Office.

I met King and his associates in the hallway outside the Director's Office. An attempt was made to rush them directly through the reception room, however, King slowly posed for the cameras and newsmen before proceeding.

Upon being introduced to the Director, Reverend King indicated his appreciation for Mr. Hoover's seeing him then stated that Reverend Abernathy would speak first. Reverend Abernathy told the Director it was a great privilege to meet the distinguished Director of the FBI--a man who had done so much for his country. Reverend Abernathy expressed the appreciation of the Negro race for the Director's fine work in the field of civil rights. He stated that the Negroes had problems, particularly in the South, and, therefore, had requested a discussion with the Director at the very time their people were continuing to "rise up from their bondage."

Reverend King spoke up. He stated it was vitally necessary to keep a working relationship with the FBI. He wanted to clear up any misunderstanding which might have occurred. He stated that some Negroes had told him that the FBI had been ineffective, however, he was inclined to discount such criticism. Reverend King asked that the Director please understand that any criticism of the Director and the FBI which had been attributed to King was either a misquote or an outright misrepresentation. He stated this particularly concerned Albany, Georgia. He stated that the only time he had ever criticized the FBI was because of instances in which Special Agents who had been given complaints in civil rights cases regarding brutality by police officers were seen the following day being friendly with those same police officers. King stated this, of course, promoted distrust inasmuch as the police sometimes "brutalized" Negroes.

Enclosure - Sent 12/2/64

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Miss Gandy
- 1 - Miss Holmes
- 1 - Mr. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Morrell

REC-103

100-104272-634

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ODD:SAF 30 1964

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

Reverend King stated he personally appreciated the great work of the FBI which had been done in so many instances. He stated this was particularly true in Mississippi. He added that FBI developments in that State have been very significant. The FBI is a great restraining influence. Reverend King denied that he had ever stated that Negroes should not report information to the FBI. He said he had actually encouraged such reporting in many instances. He claimed there were good relationships in many communities, especially Atlanta, Georgia, between Negroes and the FBI. He stated he would continue to strongly urge all of his people to work closely with the FBI.

Reverend King stated he has never made any personal attack upon Mr. Hoover. He stated he had merely tried to articulate the feelings of the Negroes in the South in order to keep a tradition of nonviolence rather than violence. He added that the Negro should never be transferred from a policy of nonviolence to one of violence and terror.

Reverend King said that the Director's report to the President this summer on rioting was a very excellent analysis.

Reverend King advised that Negroes are currently laboring under a very frustrating situation. He stated that, "We sometimes are on the verge of temporary despair." He added that it was a challenge and a duty for him to keep the Negro from coming to a boiling point. He stated that sometimes the cries coming from the Negro represent a real feeling of lonesomeness and despair. He, however, has pointed out that the path to success is nonviolence rather than violence.

Reverend King stated he has been, and still is, very concerned regarding the matter of communism in the civil rights movement. He stated he knew that the Director was very concerned because he bore the responsibility of security in the Nation. Reverend King stated that from a strong philosophical point of view he could never become a communist inasmuch as he recognizes this to be a crippling totalitarian disease. He stated that as a Christian he could never accept communism. He claimed that when he learns of the identity of a communist in his midst he immediately deals with the problem by removing this man. He stated there have been one or two communists who were engaged in fund raising for the SCLC. Reverend King then corrected himself to say that these one or two men were former communists and not Party members at the present time. He then identified "Jack O'Dell" as an example. He stated that he had insisted that O'Dell leave his staff because the success of his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was far more important than friendship with O'Dell. U. S. A.

The Director interrupted King to state that the FBI had learned from long experience that the communists move in when trouble starts. The Director explained that communists thrive on chaos. The Director mentioned that his riot report to the President reflected the opportunistic efforts of communists. He then stated that communists have no interest in the future of the Negro race and that King, of all people, should be aware of this fact. The Director spoke briefly of communist attempts to infiltrate the labor movement.



DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director told King and his associates that the FBI shares the same despair which the Negroes suffer when Negro leaders refused to accept the deep responsibility they have in the civil rights movement. He stated that when Negroes are encouraged not to cooperate with the FBI this sometimes frustrates or delays successful solution of investigations. The Director told King that he had personally gone to Mississippi to meet with Governor Paul Johnson inasmuch as there had been practically no liaison between the Department of Justice, the President and the State of Mississippi beforehand. The Director stated that upon meeting Governor Johnson the Governor explained honestly that he was a segregationist, however, abhorred violence. The Director stated that he had told Governor Johnson they had a common meeting ground inasmuch as he was in Mississippi to put an end to violence and brutality. The Director told Governor Johnson that he would like to do this in collaboration with the State Police, however, if the FBI could not receive such cooperation we would do it on our own. The Director then made reference to watermoccasins, rattlesnakes and redneck sheriffs, in that order, who still exist in Mississippi who represent the trashy type of characters who are promoting civil rights violations. The Director told King that we had trained twenty representatives of the Mississippi State Highway Patrol and that this had represented a good move to promote better cooperation and solution of civil rights cases.

The Director told Reverend King that the FBI had put the "fear of God" in the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). He told King that we knew of the identity of the murderers of the three civil rights workers and that these murderers would soon be brought to trial. The Director then spoke of the terror in Mississippi backwoods and of the fact that sheriffs and deputy sheriffs participate in crimes of violence. He summarized by telling King that we, therefore, are under the same strain that sincere Negro leaders are under. The Director added that the KKK constantly damns the FBI and that we have currently been classified as the "Federal Bureau of Integration" in Mississippi.

The Director told King that many cases, which have been brought about as a result of FBI investigation, must be tried in State Court. He spoke of the difficulty in obtaining a verdict of guilty in instances in which white juries are impaneled in cases involving white men. The Director spoke of the KKK involvement in the Lemuel Penn case just outside of Athens, Georgia. He stated this was an outrageous miscarriage of justice in that the defendants, despite the open and shut evidence on the part of the FBI, had been acquitted.

The Director made it clear to Reverend King and his associates that the FBI could not state whether a conviction would be obtained or not in the case involving the murdered three civil rights victims. He stated, however, that the FBI has excellent evidence in this case. The Director then explained that it was most necessary for the FBI not to "jump the gun" unless we had sufficient evidence in which a case could be brought to trial.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director made reference to Reverend King's allegation that the FBI deals or associates with law enforcement officers who have been involved in civil rights violations. He stated emphatically that, "I'll be damned if the FBI has associated with any of these people nor will we be associated with them in the future." The Director explained that the FBI, not only because of the very nature of the law but also because of the background of our investigative employees, was in full sympathy with the sincere aspects of the civil rights movement. He stated that the FBI constantly needs cooperation and assistance in order to solve cases. He added that he made it a point, several years ago, to transfer northern Special Agents to southern offices. He stated that, for the most part, northern-born Agents are assigned civil rights cases in the South. The Director added that he feels that our Special Agents, regardless of where they are born, will investigate a case impartially and thoroughly. He mentioned, however, that it was unfair to the Agent and the FBI to "have a strike against him" in that criticism had been leveled over the fact that southern Agents would not give Negroes a "fair shake." The Director stated that such criticism was entirely unjustifiable and that no case had ever been brought to our attention proving such a fact.

The Director made reference to the recent case in McComb, Mississippi, in which nine men had been charged with burning churches and violence against Negroes. He stated this again was a miscarriage of justice. He added that the judge's decision in releasing the defendants because they had learned their lesson and were merely youths was entirely wrong and that it caused some people to question where youth really began. He explained that some of the defendants had been in their 40's. The Director added that a deal probably, of course, had been made, however, this would certainly not represent any deterrent to future actions of violence by these men.

The Director explained that there is a great misunderstanding today among the general public and particularly the Negro race as to what the FBI can and cannot do in the way of investigations. The Director emphasized that the FBI cannot recommend prosecution or declination of prosecution. He stated that Agents cannot make "on the spot" arrests. He stated that the FBI merely investigates and then the Department of Justice determines whether prosecution be entertained or not. The Director added that the question is sometimes raised why prosecution is not scheduled sooner. He stated this, of course, was not the responsibility of the FBI in any way whatsoever. He pointed out that our civil rights investigations are conducted in a very thorough and expeditious manner once the Department has authorized such investigations.

The Director spoke of the FBI's successful penetration of the KKK. He stated that the FBI has interviewed all members of the KKK in Mississippi and has served notice to these members that if trouble occurs we plan to come to them first. He stated our penetration of the KKK has been as successful as the manner in which we infiltrated the communists and the Soviet espionage services. He stated that our progress in infiltrating the KKK has been so rapid that Klan members now suspect each other and are fighting among themselves. The Director mentioned that we have two confessions in the killing of the three civil rights workers. He added that the Klan in Mississippi has failed to meet for some time because the members of this organization are apprehensive

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Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

as to the identity of FBI informants in their midst. The Director stated he had personally been an enemy of the KKK for a long time.

He spoke of the FBI's case in Louisiana in the late 1920's in which FBI evidence successfully culminated in the conviction of the top Klan leader. He stated the KKK fully concentrated on Negroes, Jews and Catholics, however, concentration now is strictly on the Negro race.

The Director told the group that in the Lemuel Penn case the defendants have recently been indicted and are to stand trial in Federal Court. He stated the trial would begin sometime next week. He mentioned that the same defendants were responsible for beating Negroes and participation in other acts of violence. The Director added that the FBI's success in infiltrating the KKK has been so extensive that we now sometimes know in advance what the KKK plans to do and take preventive measures accordingly.

The Director explained that in Alabama the FBI cannot deal with the Highway Patrol because of the psychoneurotic tendencies of the Alabama Governor. He stated that the State of Georgia has a good Governor and that the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, while not comparable to the Mississippi Highway Patrol, has cooperated with the FBI.

The Director told Reverend King and his associates that FBI representatives have held several thousand law enforcement conferences in which southern police officers have been educated as to civil rights legislation. He stated this has clearly assisted law enforcement, particularly the FBI, however, admittedly, this represents slow progress, but progress nevertheless. He added that this educational campaign will be continued and that it will eventually take hold. The Director gave the example of a Mississippi Sheriff who recently broke a case as a result of FBI training.

The Director made it very clear to Reverend King and his associates that FBI Agents conduct very thorough interviews in civil rights cases. He stated he would like to know immediately if any of our Special Agents ever act in a supercilious manner or if they mishandle a complaint regarding civil rights. He stated that if the facts reflect that our Agent is in the wrong he will be called on the carpet fast. The Director asked that Reverend King or any of his representatives feel free to call the FBI at any time they have such complaints.

The Director told Reverend King he desired to give him some advice. He stated that one of the greatest things the Negro leaders could accomplish would be to encourage voting registration among their people. Another thing would be to educate their people in the skills so that they could compete in the open market. The Director mentioned several professions in which Negroes could easily learn skills. The Director also told King he wanted him to know that registrars in the South were now more careful in their actions. He stated that there were less attempts now to prevent Negroes from

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Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

registering inasmuch as the FBI is watching such actions very carefully. The Director told Reverend King that the FBI was making progress in violations regarding discrimination in eating places. He gave as a specific example a restaurant in Atlanta, Georgia, in which surveillances have taken place to ascertain if out-of-state cars are being served at this particular restaurant. The Director stated he personally was in favor of equality in eating places and in schools. He stated emphatically, however, he was not in favor of taking Negro children 10 or 12 miles across town simply because their parents wanted them to go to a school other than those in their specific neighborhood.

The Director told Reverend King that in due time there will be a complete change in the mores of community thinking in the United States regarding the racial problem. He stated that meanwhile the FBI will continue to handle its responsibilities in a thorough and impartial manner. He reiterated that the FBI cannot encourage prosecution in Federal Court despite the fact that some local courts cannot be trusted. He added that some judges cannot be trusted.

The Director praised the Georgia papers that declared the verdict of the Penn case to be a travesty of justice. He added that the Jackson, Mississippi, papers had contained several editorials deploring violence against Negroes and participation in church burnings. The same editorials declared this was no way to solve racial problems. The Director stated that his statements made at a press conference in Jackson, Mississippi, this summer to the effect that he was in Mississippi to see to it that an end was put to the violence of bombings and burning churches had had some affect upon backwoods terrorists.

The Director told King that he wanted to make it very clear that the question is often raised as to whether the FBI will protect civil rights workers or Negroes. He stated that he has in the past and will continue to answer such questions on the basis that the FBI does not have the authority nor the jurisdiction to protect anyone. He stated that when the Department of Justice desires that Negroes be protected this is the responsibility of U. S. Marshals. The Director reiterated that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency and cannot and will not extend itself beyond legislated jurisdiction. The Director repeated very emphatically that while our investigations are very definitely thorough and impartial he wanted to state once again that if Reverend King or any of his associates ever knew of a Special Agent showing bias or prejudice he wanted to know about this matter immediately.

The Director explained that we have civil rights cases not only in the South but also in the northern cities. He gave examples of New York and Chicago. He stated that there have been some cases in Miami, Florida.

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Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment with Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director spoke once again of the necessity of the Negro educating himself in order to compete in manual and professional skills. He mentioned the example of a shoeshine boy in Miami, Florida, who turned out to be, after questioning by the Director, a graduate of Howard University. This shoeshine boy, a Negro, explained to the Director that he could not get a job above the level of shoeshine boy because of the color of his skin. The Director stated this, of course, was wrong and that under no circumstances did he, or anyone in the FBI, share the opinion that the Negro, or any other race, should be kept down. The Director spoke of his pride in Negro Agents and particularly mentioned Special Agent Aubrey Lewis, the former Notre Dame track star who is currently assigned to the New York Division.

The Director spoke of a Miami Special Agent who was transferred to that Office from St. Louis. This Agent explained to the Director on one occasion that he was first a little upset about being transferred to Miami because he felt that his race would be against him. He stated, however, much to his surprise, that the white people in Miami treated him with the greatest of courtesy while people of his own race referred to him as a "fink" simply because he was a representative of law enforcement.

Reverend King interrupted the Director at this point and asked if this same Negro Agent is still assigned to the Miami Division. The Director replied in the affirmative. The Director stated that at a recent dinner Father Hesburgh, the President of Notre Dame University, explained to the Director that his institution had difficulty getting Negroes on the football team because their grades were never high enough. The Director told Reverend King the same thing is true of Negroes who apply for the position of Special Agent. He stated in most instances they lack the qualifications, however, we were very happy to hire any Negro who was qualified for the position. The Director told Reverend King that we, of course, could not let down our qualifications simply because of the color of a person's skin.

The Director told Reverend King and his associates that the problems that he and the Negro leaders have is a mutual problem. He stated in most instances in civil rights matters we have learned that "you are damned if you do and you are damned if you don't." The Director stated nevertheless the FBI would continue to do its job. He stated that we additionally are very proud of 10 or 11 Indian Special Agents and of a number of Special Agents who have Mexican blood in them. He stated that the color of a man's skin makes no difference to the FBI whatsoever, however, we do merit the cooperation and assistance of all groups and it is most unfair when these groups are taught not to cooperate with the FBI.

The Director mentioned that he wanted to make it very plain that the FBI will not tolerate any of our personnel being slapped around. He gave an example of the Lombardozzi case in New York where one of our Agents was jumped by five hoodlums outside a church. He stated these hoodlums were immediately taught a lesson. The Director mentioned that in the war with hoodlums, for every man we lose we make certain, through legal means of course, that the hoodlums lose the same number or more.

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The Director proudly spoke of the ability of Agents to outshoot and outfight hoodlums and other individuals who attempted to take advantage of our personnel. He stated the KKK is afraid to "mix" with our Agents. He mentioned that the Klan was "yellow." He stated they are brave as long as they have the majority with them but afraid when they face an equal number.

The Director spoke of the Mack Charles Parker case in Poplarville, Mississippi. He stated that our evidence in this case had been turned over to Governor Coleman, the then Governor of that State. He mentioned that Governor Coleman was a decent type of individual who had immediately seen to it that a State Court received the evidence contributed by the FBI. The Director mentioned that our evidence in this case was excellent, however, the Grand Jury refused to indict the subjects involved in the lynching of Parker.

The Director told Reverend King that in many instances our Agents have been spit upon, they have been refused food and lodging and many things are done to thwart hard-hitting investigations by the FBI. He stated that nevertheless we continue to gather evidence in an expeditious and thorough manner.

Reverend Abernathy stated that the Negroes have a real problem in tearing down the current system of segregated voting tests in the South. He stated it was most important that there be kept alive in the Negro communities a ray of hope. He stated that the Negro people should not be allowed to fall into an atmosphere of despair.

The Director explained that this was a very important point. He stated that real progress has been made in higher wages, voting registration and housing matters. The Director pointed out, however, that such progress has not been emphasized by the rabblers who constantly attempt to stir up the Negroes against the whites. The Director gave as an example the communist, Epton, in New York City. The Director stated that Epton is sometimes pointed to as a person the Negro should emulate because of his militancy. The Director stated this was wrong and it is also wrong to "mislead" Negroes.

Reverend Abernathy stated that the SCLC does not want Negroes like Epton in their movement. He stated that Reverend King, more than anyone else, has prevented people like Epton and the Muslims from taking over the civil rights movement. Reverend Abernathy stated that actually the Negroes are a part of the Federal Government, therefore, anything that represents the Federal Government is an encouragement to the Negro. He added that even the side of a post office building or a Federal courtroom is an encouragement to the Negro. He mentioned that when a Negro receives information that a case in which he has been brutally mistreated is going to Federal Court he feels encouraged over the fact that he will get a fair trial. Reverend Abernathy continued that the same problem is true when a Negro sees an FBI Agent. He stated that the Negro feels open encouragement inasmuch as the FBI will not only fairly handle his case but will serve as a great deterrent to violence.

DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p. m., 12-1-64

The Director stated that the KKK today is represented by common white trash. He stated that the Klan was actually worse than the Communist Party inasmuch as the Klan resorts to violence while the communists usually emulate termites in their activities.

The Director reiterated that King and his associates should feel free to call him at any time when they have knowledge of possible civil rights violations. King replied that over the past few years he has noted amazing signs of progress in the civil rights field. He stated he has been very surprised to see some communities comply with the new civil rights statutes. He stated there still are some pockets of resistance particularly in the South. He added that the SCLC is planning to stimulate voting registration activities in Selma, Alabama, in the near future. He mentioned that some members of his organization have been successful in infiltrating this white community and have learned there is a great potential for violence in Selma.

The Director interrupted King and briefly detailed five cases in which the FBI has gathered evidence in Selma, Alabama. The Director identified these cases fully, and specifically the case against Sheriff James Clark. The Director mentioned that these cases came about as a result of FBI investigation and that we were continuing our investigations in Selma, Alabama. He mentioned that one case would come to trial on December 9, 1964. The Director particularly made reference to the fact that we have three excellent cases in Selma at the present time.

Reverend King inquired as to whether his representatives should notify the FBI when they arrive in Selma, Alabama. He quickly corrected himself that he knew his representatives should contact the FBI upon arrival, however, he asked the Director what would be the possibilities of FBI Agents being in Selma, Alabama, inasmuch as there appeared to be a potential for violence. The Director specifically asked Reverend King when his activities would take place. Reverend Abernathy indicated such activity would take place around January 1, 1965. The Director clearly explained that FBI Agents would be in Selma, not for the purpose of "protecting" anyone, but for the purpose of observing and reporting to the Department of Justice any possible violations of civil rights that might occur. Reverend King expressed appreciation in this regard.

Reverend King stood up and stated he wished to express his personal thanks for a most fruitful and necessary meeting. The Director told Reverend King that he should get in touch with us at anytime he felt it was necessary.

Reverend King mentioned that there were representatives of the press in the Director's reception room. He turned to me and asked if the FBI planned to make any comment regarding the meeting. I told him that the Director had instructed that we make no comment whatsoever. Reverend King asked the Director if there would be any objections if he read a short prepared statement to the press. The Director told Reverend King this, of course, was up to him.



DeLoach to Mohr 12-2-64

Re: Martin Luther King, Appointment With Director, 3:35 p.m., 12-1-64

In proceeding to the reception room, Reverend King pulled out a press release, hand-written in ink, out of his right coat pocket. This press release obviously had been prepared prior to the time Reverend King arrived at FBI Headquarters. A previous memorandum has been sent through reporting verbatim the comments by King in the Director's reception room.

ACTION:

It is suggested that the attached letter be sent to the President concerning the meeting between the Director, Reverend King and his associates.

G.K.  
H

The General Investigative Division, Civil Rights Section, should take due note of the proposed activities in Selma, Alabama, and should instruct the appropriate office to make certain that Agents are on hand to observe activities in Selma, Alabama, on or around January 1, 1965.

Handled by  
airtel to MO  
12-10-64  
WLM/cac

yes. JH JAM P ✓



December 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

In response to his request to see me, I conferred for about an hour with the Reverend Martin Luther King in my office yesterday afternoon. He was accompanied by the following members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which he is President: Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy, Treasurer; Andrew J. Young, Program Director; and Walter E. Fauntroy, Director of the organization's Washington, D. C., office.

The meeting was most amicable and King indicated that he had requested to see me in an effort to clear up any misunderstandings that we might have. He apologized for remarks attributed to him criticizing the FBI and me with specific reference to Albany, Georgia. He stated that in this connection he had either been misquoted or there had been an outright misrepresentation.

He said that while some Negroes have complained to him that the FBI has been ineffective in investigating civil rights violations, he personally discounts such complaints and said he appreciated the fine work the FBI has been doing in this regard.

He said he had been critical of the FBI only in connection with instances where our Agents, who had been furnished complaints involving police brutality, were, thereafter, observed

- 1 - Mr. Belmont (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Miss Gandy (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Miss Holmes (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Rosen (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Jones (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan (Sent with cover memo)
- 1 - Mr. Morrell (Sent with cover memo)

NOTE: See DeLoach to Mohr Memo of same date, captioned "Martin Luther King Appointment with Director, 3:35 p.m., 12/2/64."

GTQ:blh and smg (11)

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Rm.
- Holmes
- Gandy

V  
H  
12/16/64  
R.H.

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EX 109

DEC 16 1964

## The President

being friendly toward these same officers. He said situations like this serve to breed Negro distrust for the FBI. I advised Reverend King that I was aware that allegations of this nature had been made and that I had looked into the matter. It was determined that these charges were without basis.

Reverend King categorically denied ever having made a personal attack on me and also denied that he had ever instructed Negroes not to cooperate with the FBI. I told him that when Negroes are encouraged not to cooperate with the FBI, the solution of cases is delayed and sometimes frustrated. He said, to the contrary, he encouraged such cooperation. He explained that Negroes in many areas are frustrated. He said he feels it is his duty to keep them from expressing their frustrations through violence. Reverend King made reference to my report to you on the rioting that took place in some of our northern cities last summer. He indicated he considers it an excellent analysis of the situation.

Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement was discussed. Reverend King stated that as a Christian he could never accept communism and that he shared my concern with the problem. He described communism as a "crippling, totalitarian disease." He said that while there are "one or two" former communists currently engaged in fund-raising activities for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, he does not tolerate communists in his organization. He cited the communist background of Hunter Pitts O'Dell and noted that he considered the success of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference more important to him than his friendship with O'Dell. Consequently, he claimed, O'Dell is no longer associated with his organization.

## The President

The problems confronting the FBI in civil rights investigations were explained to the Reverend King in detail. I made it clear to him that cases developed as a result of FBI investigation must often be tried in local courts where there are difficulties involved in getting white juries to convict white defendants in connection with civil rights matters. I cited some of our experiences in this regard.

He and his associates were advised of the recent conferences held for local law enforcement officers throughout the United States for the purpose of fully acquainting them with civil rights legislation and their responsibilities in connection with same. I told him that the results of this campaign have been encouraging in the cooperation received.

I pointed out to him that there is a great misunderstanding today among the general public and particularly the Negro race as to the FBI's role in civil rights matters. I emphasized that the FBI is an investigative agency, that it cannot recommend prosecution or make on-the-spot arrests where Federal laws have not been violated. He was advised that the FBI will not protect civil rights workers or Negroes because the FBI does not have the authority or jurisdiction to do so. He was also advised that the FBI cannot and will not exceed its authority. Reverend King was told that our investigations are conducted in a thorough and impartial manner, but if he or any of his associates knew of a Special Agent who had shown bias or prejudice, I wanted to know about it immediately.

Reverend King indicated that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is planning to engage in voter registration activities in Selma, Alabama, on or about January 1, 1965, and that he has learned that there could be violence. I told him that our Agents would be on the scene, not for the purpose of rendering protection, but to observe and report to the Department of Justice any possible violations of civil rights that may occur.

**The President**

Reverend King expressed his gratitude for having the opportunity to meet me. He said he felt our meeting had been a productive one, and I told him to feel free to get in touch with me any time he thought it necessary to do so.

Respectfully submitted,

- 4 -

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 8/17/70

FROM : G. E. Malmfeldt

SUBJECT: CORRESPONDENCE AND TELEPHONIC INQUIRIES  
REGARDING AN ARTICLE IN "TIME" MAGAZINE 8/17/70  
CONCERNING A MEETING BETWEEN THE DIRECTOR  
AND MARTIN LUTHER KING IN 1964

- Tolson
- Sullivan
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Brennan
- Callahan
- Casper
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sobel
- Walters
- Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

*J. Moore*  
*W. J. Jones*

*WILKINS*  
*4718*

*J. G. ...*

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend the handling of communications and telephonic inquiries regarding the wire-tapping of Martin Luther King and allegation that we engaged in blackmail in disclosing the results thereof.

We have received a number of letters regarding the article which appeared in "Time" magazine on 8/17/70 concerning the meeting between the Director and Martin Luther King in 1964. This article alleged the Director called King in and confronted him with wiretap information regarding King's extramarital activities. Some of the correspondents have asked if we blackmailed King while others have merely protested the wiretaps of him.

In order that we may be consistent in our replies to such correspondence, there are attached for the Director's approval: 1) a proposed letter wherein correspondent asks about blackmailing of King 2) a proposed letter wherein correspondent asks about our wiretapping of King 3) a proposed letter wherein correspondent is making reference to blackmail and inquires about wiretapping and 4) a copy of an article by Jeremiah O'Leary which appeared in the 6/19/69 issue of "The Evening Star" regarding the King wiretapping. The latter is being furnished for the Director's information as it is noted this article sets forth our position on the wiretapping of King and is being utilized in connection with proposed letters numbers 2 and 3.

RECOMMENDATION: That the attached proposed letters regarding this matter be approved.

- Enclosures (4)
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. Bishop
  - 1 - Mr. Malmfeldt

*ENCLOSURE*

*W. J. Jones*

18 AUG 31 1970

FOR APPROVAL  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

SENT DIRECTOR  
8-18-70

PERS. REC. UNIT

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 14-57-11

I received your letter of \_\_\_\_\_ and  
would like to assure you that the FBI does not engage in blackmail  
activities. Also, there is not one shred of truth in the allegation  
that this Bureau blackmailed Martin Luther King.

Sincerely yours,

100-106670-3811

With respect to the remarks in your letter of

I am enclosing a copy of a copyrighted article which appeared in "The Evening Star," Washington, D. C., on June 19, 1969, which you may not have had an opportunity to read. The information in this article is a matter of public record regarding the subject about which you commented.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

100-106610-3811

ENCLOSURE

I received your letter of \_\_\_\_\_ and would like to assure you that the FBI does not engage in blackmail activities. Also, there is not one shred of truth in the allegation that this Bureau blackmailed Martin Luther King.

Enclosed is a copy of a copyrighted article which appeared in "The Evening Star," Washington, D. C., on June 19, 1969, which you may not have had an opportunity to read. The information in this article is a matter of public record regarding the FBI's position in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

100-106670-3811

ENCLOSURE



# King Wiretap Called RFK's Idea Hoover Asserts Memo to FBI Cited Concern Over Marxism

(Copyright 1969 by  
The Evening Star Newspaper Co.)

By JEREMIAH O'LEARY  
Star Staff Writer

Wiretapping of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s telephone was proposed to the FBI by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in June, 1963, and authorized by him in writing later that year, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told The Star today.

Hoover revealed the contents of two memorandums in one of which Kennedy expressed concern about possible infiltration of the race issue by Marxists and spoke of allegations that the Negro leader was closely associated with Marxist ideas and followers.

That memorandum to Hoover, dated June, 1963, was written by Courtney Evans, then assistant director of the FBI and liaison man with the Justice Department. It reported the substance of a conversation Evans had just had with Kennedy in which the Attorney General asked about the feasibility of installing electronic devices on King's telephones. King headed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

### Concerned About Allegations

Kennedy, according to the Evans memo, was concerned about reports that King was a student of Marxism, that he was associating with a New York attorney with known Communist connections, but that he did not openly espouse Marxism because of his religious beliefs. The Evans memorandum indicated Kennedy wanted to know if it was technically feasible to use electronic devices to prove or disprove these allegations.

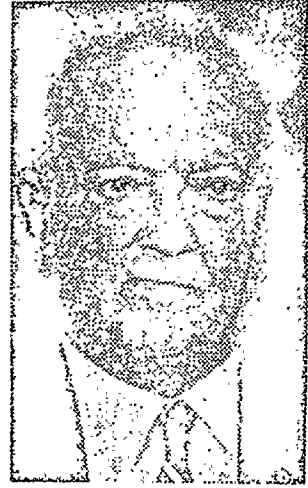
The Evans memo said Evans replied to Kennedy that King was a man who traveled almost constantly and that it was extremely difficult to use wiretaps effectively in such cases.

Hoover told The Star that FBI officials also informed Kennedy at that time that they doubted the advisability of undertaking electronic surveillance of Dr. King because of possible political repercussions.

However, the second memorandum cited by Hoover shows that on October 7, 1963, the FBI chief reported to Kennedy that it was then technically feasible to apply wiretaps to King's telephones at two places, one of them at an unnamed location in New York.

That memorandum constituted the FBI's request for authority

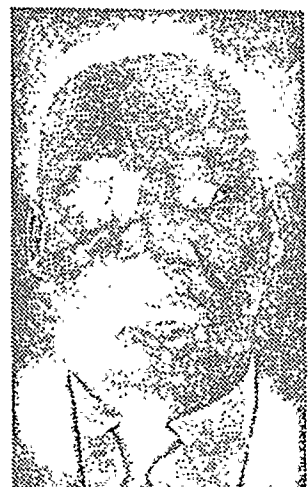
See WIRETAP, Page A-6



J. EDGAR HOOVER



ROBERT F. KENNEDY



MARTIN LUTHER KING

100-106670-3811

"The Evening Star"

Washington, D. C.

June 19, 1969

ENCLOSURE

## WIRETAP

# King Wiretap RFK's Idea, Hoover Says

Continued From Page A-1  
to proceed with the wiretap proposed by Kennedy four months before. The document bears in the lower left-hand corner the signature, "Robert F. Kennedy," and under the name the date "10-10-63."

Hoover did not indicate to The Star when the surveillance was started but said the taps were discontinued on April 30, 1965. At that time Nicholas Katzenbach was serving as Attorney General.

Asked about the results of the electronic surveillance today, Hoover declined comment.

The FBI director told The Star: "I have never authorized installation of technical electronic devices without written authority of the Attorney General."

Today's disclosures climaxed a long smoldering controversy over the role of the FBI, a subordinate bureau of the Justice Department, in using wiretaps or other electronic devices in investigative matters. The matter came to a head Sunday when Carl Rowan, a columnist for The Star, charged that the FBI had no authority to wiretap Dr. King's conversations. He quoted former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who succeeded Katzenbach, as saying "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

The Rowan charges prompted Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson to write to Rowan early this week defending legality of the King wiretaps.

"For your information," Tolson said in his letter, "the wiretap on Martin Luther King Jr. was specifically approved in advance in writing by the late attorney general of the United States, Mr. Robert F. Kennedy."

Tolson added that the monitoring device was "strictly in the field of internal security and therefore was within the provision laid down by the President of the United States."

Evans, now a Washington lawyer, was en route to Puerto Rico today and could not be reached for comment. However, Tuesday night Evans said he had no recollection of whether a wiretap authorization directed at King had ever been involved in his discussion with Kennedy.

Aides to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said today he would have no comment on Hoover's disclosure.

Friends of Robert Kennedy had suggested in recent days that, during 1964, in the period after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the attorney general's interest in some of his official affairs had flagged. However, the assassination came nearly six weeks after Robert Kennedy signed the authorization for the King wiretap.

Hoover and Kennedy, after the latter became a New York senator, accused each other of being responsible for use of hidden microphones in investigations.

Evans figured in that controversy when Kennedy made public a February, 1966, letter to him from Evans which made the point that the use of hidden microphones was not Kennedy's responsibility but suggested he may have directly approved the use of wiretaps on phones. That letter said the FBI sent national security wiretap requests to Kennedy for approval.

It is reliably reported that Kennedy was reminded by the FBI that it still had in its files the authorizations signed by him as Attorney General for telephonic wiretaps. However, Hoover did not disclose at that time any names of persons under wiretap surveillance with Kennedy's approval.

At that stage, Kennedy and Hoover broke off the public exchange of charges as if by mutual consent. This was regarded partly as due to Kennedy's realization that his signed authorizations were still in FBI files, partly to the FBI's desire not to have special attention drawn to its investigative techniques nor to engage in a battle with the Kennedy forces that could have political overtones.

The Justice Department on Tuesday declined a direct an-

swer when asked for documentation of Tolson's contention in his letter to Rowan. But earlier this month, a Justice Department spokesman said Hoover was "accurate in every respect" in his repeated statements that all wiretaps were being authorized in advance and in writing by the Attorney General during the time-span of the controversy.

A Justice department spokesman, asked today if Attorney General John N. Mitchell had given Hoover permission to discuss the contents of secret documents of the King wiretapping, replied simply, "no comment."

However, the spokesman recalled that the attorney general had declined to authorize disclosures in court of the basic authority for the wiretapping. Such disclosures had been demanded by defense lawyers in the Houston draft evasion hearing for former boxing champion Cassius Clay. It was during that hearing that the King wiretapping was officially revealed for the first time.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP  
CONFERENCE (SCLC)

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 8/18/70

- 1 - Mr. J. H. Gale
- 1 - Mr. A. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C. E. Glass

|               |       |
|---------------|-------|
| Tolson        | _____ |
| Sullivan      | _____ |
| Mohr          | _____ |
| Bishop        | _____ |
| Brennan, C.D. | _____ |
| Callahan      | _____ |
| Casper        | _____ |
| Conrad        | _____ |
| Felt          | _____ |
| Gale          | _____ |
| Rosen         | _____ |
| Tavel         | _____ |
| Walters       | _____ |
| Soyars        | _____ |
| Tele. Room    | _____ |
| Holmes        | _____ |
| Gandy         | _____ |

*J. H. Gale*  
*Legg*  
*1/18/70*

This is to advise you of another scurrilous attack on the Director and the FBI by the SCLC, and to recommend a mass media item for approval.

At its Annual Convention in Atlanta, Georgia, 8/11 - 14/70, the SCLC adopted a resolution attacking the Director and the FBI for "their attacks on Martin Luther King, Jr. and their failure to meet their responsibilities such as protecting civil rights, stopping narcotics traffic and other organized crime." Senator George McGovern (Democrat - South Dakota) also alluded to the "venal attack" on King in his address at the convention.

*H. J. ...*  
*...*  
*D. ...*

This two-faced attack is the rankest hypocrisy. The resolution was occasioned by an article in Time magazine which accused the Director, during his meeting with King on 12/1/64, of pressuring King to tone down his attacks against the FBI with tapes of King's immoral conduct. This article was false and King's three SCLC associates who accompanied him on 12/1/64 (including Ralph Abernathy, current President of SCLC) all denied that the Director even mentioned King's immoral conduct. Now they turn around and allow a resolution to be passed which in effect accuses the Director of the same thing that they have already branded as a lie in the Time article.

*JH*

OBSERVATIONS:

*5 - Glass*

The history of this group indicates the deceitful accusations will continue. After expressing confidence in the Director and the FBI in civil rights cases and offering cooperation during the 12/1/64 meeting, King and this gang left the Director's office and immediately initiated an

CEG:amk

Enclosure

(8)

REC-34

CONTINUED - OVER

*2981*  
15 SEP 1 1970

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to Mr. Brennan  
Re: Communist Infiltration of the  
Southern Christian Leadership  
Conference (SCLC)

underhanded spurious campaign to malign the Director and the Bureau. Recently Jesse Jackson, a SCLC national official, in utter disregard for denials by three of his associates that it occurred launched a personal attack on the Director for threatening King with tapes about his conduct.

We have considered a strong letter to the SCLC on their false charges but feel a letter writing exchange would be useless with this group which would not recognize the truth if they saw it. The public record is clear now from their own mouths as to the 12/1/64 meeting. If they want to look bad by issuing contradictory statements it only shows them to be the hypocrites they are and leaves the public with a clear picture of its deceit. It is no wonder they are having financial difficulty, which recently lead to the widow of King's being embarrassed by being picketed by her own people.

ACTION:

If approved, Crime Records Division will furnish the attached to an appropriate mass media source.

*C.K.*

*H*

*W.C. [Signature]*

*[Signature]*

*[Handwritten notes and signatures]*

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE'S  
ATTACK ON J. EDGAR HOOVER

Its most recent attack on Director J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI certainly does not depict the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as a responsible organization, a picture which the organization needs to overcome its reported financial dilemma. The latest attack was based on an article in Time magazine alleging that Mr. Hoover confronted Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. with tapes about his immoral conduct and pressured Dr. King into toning down his criticisms of Mr. Hoover and the FBI. Three of King's associates who accompanied Dr. King during his meeting with Mr. Hoover promptly denied that Mr. Hoover even mentioned Dr. King's conduct during the meeting. Mr. Hoover characteristically said nothing. This should have laid to rest the situation once more.

Out in Chicago, Reverend Jesse Jackson, a national SCLC official touted by many as the successor to Reverend Ralph Abernathy as President of the SCLC, felt moved to comment. Ignoring the denials by his associates, including Reverend Abernathy, Reverend Jackson launched a bitter personal attack on Mr. Hoover, accusing him of trying to "whitemail" Dr. King. Then, the SCLC held its National Convention in Atlanta, Georgia, and in a resolution attacked Mr. Hoover and the FBI for "their attacks on Dr. King." To add further confusion to just what Mr. Hoover was being accused of doing, the resolution noted that Dr. King's three associates who also attended the meeting with Mr. Hoover had said the published reports were "absolutely not true."

This confusing action by the SCLC must make the public wonder. Surely they are trying to get all the mileage they can from the situation but it seems this time they have gone too far, and Mr. Hoover comes out looking better than ever for an awkward, contradictory, hypocritical attack by a bunch of preachers who should know better, if not as businessmen, then surely as preachers.

This is the kind of thing the civil rights movement can well do without. The shrieks of the extremists in the racial situation should be counterbalanced by responsibility and fairness. This type of attack is clearly counterproductive and, if the SCLC is to survive, must be halted and halted fast.



M. A. Jones to Bishop Memo  
RE: NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN

Attached is a detailed memorandum concerning von Hoffman, dated 5-11-70 to which, according to file references since that date, there is no pertinent information to be added which is not set out above.

No identifiable information with von Hoffman could be located in the criminal records of the Identification Division.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*DEB*    *nd*    *Chung*    *OP*    *V*    *ALS*    *ms*

Poster

# \* Private Life or U.S. Property?

Article

A Commentary c-1

By Nicholas von Hoffman

A decent regard for the family and friends of public men has inhibited cops, journalists and biographers from publishing embarrassing material about their private lives until after the principals have gone to their graves. This was the case with Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and so on through to Warren Harding and Franklin Roosevelt. In life and in death another rule has been used with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Time after time we pick up the paper and learn that he had a sex life, a rather ordinary one by American standards, and not much different from many other men of prominence. It wasn't what Dr. King may have done in bed that made him the superior of so many police chiefs, senators and presidents.

The newest furor over Dr. King's behavior as an American male comes from a book by black novelist John A. Williams. ("The King God Didn't Save," Coward-McCann, New York, 1970, \$5.95, and don't rush out to buy it expecting sexy passages because there aren't any.) In the book Mr. Williams says, "As a black man, I do not have to ask why such 'barnyard gossip' was never circulated about the alleged, red-hot romance between (deleted, white politician) and (deleted, movie star). Why should I ask after the alleged extracurricular activities of (deleted, President) or (deleted, President) or (deleted, prince) or (deleted, princess)? . . . Anything black people set into motion is going to be monitored, anything, and then if possible compromised."

Elsewhere the writer accuses the government of clandestinely snapping pictures and tape recording episodes in the civil rights leader's private life and then politically blackmailing him: "At some point along the way, someone in the government let him (Dr. King) know that he had been taped and photographed in situations that might be considered compromising by the Puritan masses. He was asked to soft-pedal his activities, to make the appearance of carrying on as usual when in substance, he would not be . . . Black people assume that J. Edgar Hoover has served for so long simply because he must know a lot about a lot of people, things they would not be happy to see made public. A former Senate aide told me that once while attending a meeting of a group of senators, there was a serious discussion about forming a task force to go into Hoover's office, should he die suddenly, and remove the files. Presumably this was to prevent Hoover's successor from using the information."

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

- The Washington Post Times Herald c-1 \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Post \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_
- The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_
- The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- People's World \_\_\_\_\_
- Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date AUG 19 1970



Using other sources Time magazine (Aug. 17) corroborates Williams, saying, "Hoover explained to King just what damaging private detail he had on the tapes and lectured him that his morals should be those befitting a Nobel prize-winner. He also suggested that King should tone down his criticism of the FBI. King took the advice. His decline in black esteem followed . . ."

This version of what happened at the 1964 King-Hoover meeting is denied by some of Dr. King's associates, although they say they're still having their phones tapped. A number of newspapermen say that attempts were made to foist feelthy tape recordings on them. Quite a picture that suggests Mr. Hoover and/or his agents peddling smut, trying to get it printed in family newspapers and all the time telling us it's Cammoonists that're behind the obscenity.

The cop-God remains silent and invisible behind his bureaucratic iconostasis. What he might say in his defense is unknown. No committee of Congress, no one in the executive branch or the courts, has looked into these and other disturbing matters concerning his office and made the results public. If it's true he has a dossier on all the important figures in officialdom, their unwillingness to make inquiries is understandable.

But how should people who want to take a hand in public affairs defend themselves against the FBI when its prurient interests are aroused? Perhaps sex laws which are obeyed with the same punctilio as our traffic laws should be changed to make anything that happens in private between consenting adults legal. Such is the case in Illinois. Another response might be to encourage public nudity and lovemaking, thereby debasing the value of feelthy pictures and dirty tape recordings so that they can't be used as blackmail.

None of this exculpates Mr. Hoover and his representatives of what they did. First there is the question of what they were doing when King was murdered. If they were in a position to know what kind of underwear the man was wearing, where were these girlie-magazine cops when the rifleman was drawing a bead on Dr. King? How come they couldn't see that?

What was their role in the investigation of the murder? They appear to be the persons who discovered James Earl Ray, the man who is supposed to have done it alone, although he says he was involved in a conspiracy with other unnamed and seemingly unsought individuals. Lately a witness has been found locked up in an insane asylum who says the man running from the flop house bathroom where the shots were fired was not James Earl Ray. What knowledge does the FBI have of that?

Beyond such questions there is the matter of how the FBI appears to have used Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. A lot of public men lay claim to the title leader. They get it with the prefix "Honorable" but nobody's ever seen the pack of them walking up a street leading a hundred thousand people. Martin Luther King actually was a leader. Millions of people followed him, both literally and by holding their minds open to his instruction.

He made his mistakes, had his weaknesses, committed his stupidities as all leaders and all people do, but he remains the outstandingly admirable public figure of our time. He began as a leader of black men and died a leader of men; he began as a leader in a fight against the legal formalities upholding racism and died fighting for decent wages for Memphis garbage men and for all of us in attempting to bring peace in Vietnam. He was such a leader that he taught even his enemies. Today, what he said 10 years ago can be heard coming out of the mouth of an Agnew, a Mitchell or a Nixon.

If Mr. Hoover misused the power of his office to bring him down, the FBI director and his accomplices have performed an act of unpardonable idiocy. Significant portions of both races trusted Dr. King to lead them to a new high ground of fraternal union; he stood for the legal and peaceful alternative to the killing that's happening to us now, to the development of our native Tupamaros. When Chicago police detective James Alfano Jr. died the other night of a sniper's bullet, he and every urban warfare victim could thank the FBI to the extent that Mr. Hoover contributed to Dr. King's destruction and made those of us who hope for progress through peace and law look like fools.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. C. D. BRENNAN

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

DATE: August 26, 1970

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. Enright
- 1 - Mr. Glass

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*3- glass*  
*J. Moore*

To advise you of additional information regarding the attacks on the Director following the false report in Time magazine that the Director pressured King into toning down his criticisms of the FBI by using wire tap information on King's personal misconduct.

A previous memorandum contained information that Mrs. Roscoe Beach, a Chicago school teacher, obtained over 100 signatures on a petition calling for the firing of the Director and a public apology by the Director because of the Time information. Our discreet inquiries so far indicate that Mrs. Beach circulated the petition on her own. However, an interesting fact was developed. Mrs. Beach's back yard faces the back yard of Jesse Louis Jackson.

Jackson is the opportunistic flamboyant publicity-oriented Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) official who heads Operation Breadbasket, the economic arm of the SCLC. Operation Breadbasket pressures businessmen into hiring blacks, stocking black-made products, and using black services such as trash collectors and group insurance. Jackson has been touted as possible successor to Ralph Abernathy as SCLC president. He reportedly sent a telegram to the extremist Black Panther Party (BPP) hailing the recent release of Huey Newton, co-founder of the BPP, from jail. This is not the first contact Jackson has had with the BPP. Further, he launched a vitriolic attack on the Director following the Time article, despite denials by Jackson's SCLC associates who accompanied King that the Director did what Time accused him of doing.

As suspected originally, it appears that Mrs. Beach had at least the guidance of Jackson in her petition work. We are continuing to discreetly follow this matter and pertinent information developed will be furnished.

ACTION: None. For information. ✓

59 SEP 21 1970

CGE:ekw

(7)

REC-106670 3892  
SEP 10 1970  
PERS. REC. UNIT

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Commission. It is not to be furnished to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

*38*

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
WBS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. C. D. BRENNAN *CB*

FROM : MR. G. C. MOORE *GM/pt*

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

DATE: August 18, 1970

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C. E. Enright
- 1 - Mr. Glass

- Tolson
- Sullivan
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Brennan, C.D.
- Callahan
- Casper
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Tavel
- Walters
- Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

To advise you of further attacks on the Director as a result of an erroneous Time magazine article regarding the Director and King.

Time in its 8/17/70 issue, contained an article falsely reporting that when King met with the Director on 12/1/64 the Director used wiretap information on King's immoral conduct to pressure King into toning down his criticism of the FBI. To protect King's image, three of King's associates who accompanied him on 12/1/64 have publicly denied that the Director did what Time accused him of, but they and their associates have continued to use the information to attack the Director. Jesse Jackson of Chicago, a national official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, King's organization, has been particularly vituperative in his attacks on Mr. Hoover and has called for the President to fire the Director.

Attached is a newspaper article from the Chicago Daily News 8/13/70 indicating that a teacher in the Chicago schools has obtained signatures of over 100 prominent Chicago people on a petition demanding that President Nixon fire the Director and that the Director publicly apologize for disclosures he reportedly used to pressure King.

Bureau files and Chicago files contain no references to the teacher, Mrs. Roscoe Beach. Her daughter, Carolyn Beach, was considered as a potential racial informant but she no longer is under consideration and Chicago will have no further contacts with her. Chicago has no additional information about the petition but is conducting a discreet investigation to ascertain who is behind the petition, including the possibility it is Jackson. It appears doubtful that Mrs. Beach did this on her own.

OBSERVATIONS:

By a separate memorandum, a mass media item has been prepared, pointing up the unfairness and deceit of these continuing attacks in the face of public denials by all of King's associates who accompanied him on 12/1/64 that the Director applied such pressure on King.

Enclosure 2 11970  
100-106670  
CEG:ekw. (7)

ACTION PAGE TWO

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

*Handwritten initials and signatures*

*Handwritten initials: TKA*

*Handwritten number: 3834*

*Handwritten signature: S. G. [unclear]*

ENCLOSURE

Memorandum G. C. Moore to C. D. Brennan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

ACTION:

You will be furnished any pertinent information developed by the Chicago Office regarding who was behind this petition.

*OK*

*Tom*

*WBS*

*WBS*  
*[Signature]*

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# 'Dastardly' attack on King

## 100 prominent Chicagoans ask Nixon to fire Hoover

By Arthur Gorlick

A petition signed by more than 100 prominent Chicagoans — including Mrs. Gale Sayers and top jazz musician Ramsey Lewis — has been sent to President Nixon demanding he fire FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

The petition also calls on Hoover to make an immediate public apology for disclosures that he reportedly used information obtained by wiretapping on the telephone of the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to pressure the civil rights leader into toning down his criticism of the FBI.

The wiretapping allegedly uncovered information about Dr. King's extramarital activities.

HOOPER reportedly confronted Dr. King with the wiretap transcripts during their heavily publicized 1964 meeting and threatened to use them against him if he didn't ease up his attacks on the FBI.



Mrs. Sayers



Lewis

Hoover's "recent character assassination" of Dr. King, the petition says, "was a dastardly, devastating act done with the releasing of supposedly confidential information."

"Dr. King's private life had nothing to do with the tremendous impact he has had on all of our lives," the petition continues.

"Mr. Hoover's act can cause an even more serious polarization of our country. If he is allowed to remain in his present post, the last bastion of law that we trust is now in jeopardy."

THE PETITION was circulated through the South Side's moderately well-to-do Jackson Park Highlands community by Mrs. Roscoe Beach, a master teacher in the Chicago schools, and includes the names of numerous prominent black and white physicians, clergymen and lawyers, and at least one high school principal.

Mrs. Beach said she obtained the names on the petition during four hours of knocking on doors of her neighbors.

"I had to do it," she said. "Nobody speaks for us. We don't belong to organizations with leaders who can make statements that get public attention. But we had to let people know how terrible we feel about this."

"If he (Hoover) doesn't have any respect for the millions of people like us who revere the unfulfilled dreams of Martin Luther King, he should at least consider his widow and his children and his father."

- Mr. X
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. McInerney
- Mr. T.
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. F. H.
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tamm
- Mr. Walters
- Mr. Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

8

**CHICAGO DAILY NEWS**

**CHICAGO, ILLINOIS**

Date: 8-13-70

Edition: BLUE STREAK

Author: ARTHUR GORLICK

Editor: ROY M. FISHER

Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: 100-35356

Classification:

Submitting Office: CHICAGO

*file 5-08*  
*100-106670-3834*

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
 SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_ FILED \_\_\_\_\_  
 AUG 13 1970  
 FBI - CHICAGO

8/20/70

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C. E. Enright
- 1 - Mr. C. E. Glass

To: SAC, Chicago (100-35356)

From: Director, FBI (100-106670)-3772

PERSONAL ATTENTION

EX-117

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM - C

Reurairtel 8/14/70.

Conduct appropriate discreet inquiries among established sources to determine if any other group or individual was behind the petition circulated by Mrs. Roscoe Beach or if she had the assistance of a group in circulating the petition. It is noted that the petition calls for action previously demanded by Jesse Louis Jackson, national Southern Christian Leadership Conference official in Chicago. Jackson called for prominent black people to support his demands that the Director be suspended and an inquiry made into his suitability. Submit positive information by airtel or more expeditious communication if warranted.

It is also noted that Mrs. Beach's petition calls for the Director to apologize for pressuring King with wiretap information. This is in direct contradiction to statements made by all three of King's associates who accompanied him to his meeting with the Director. All three branded as false the charge by Time magazine that the Director used wiretap information to pressure King and said Time "discredited itself in stooping to sensationalism through fiction and irresponsibility." This denial appeared in a UPI release dated 8/11/70. Mrs. Beach is then guilty of the same thing and has

MAILED 20  
AUG 20 1970  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CEG:fb

5 (9)  
AUG 25 1970

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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Airtel to SAC, Chicago  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

likewise discredited herself in the eyes of King's associates if logic is applied. Submit your suggestions as to how this may be publicized in the Chicago area such as a letter to the editor of the Chicago Daily News by a reliable contact.

*potential informant*  
~~No further consideration should be given to the development of Mrs. Beach's daughter as a potential racial source and no further contacts should be had with her.~~

Bureau files contain no information identifiable with Mrs. Beach or her husband.

NOTE:

*potential informant*  
Mrs. Roscoe Beach, a teacher in the Chicago schools, circulated a petition among over 100 prominent Chicago people demanding that the Director be fired and made to publicly apologize for pressuring King with wiretap information. Her daughter, Carolyn Beach, was under consideration as a potential racial informant by the Chicago Office. A memorandum regarding this petition was prepared on 8/18/70. Also, a mass media release was prepared for approval on 8/18/70 regarding these attacks on the Director based on information which has been branded as false by those present at the meeting during which, the false reports allege, the Director pressured King with wiretap information. The false report was contained in Time magazine, issue of 8/17/70.

FBI

Date: 8/27/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-35356) (P)  
SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM-C

*John Rose*

Re Chicago airtel to Bureau dated 8/18/70, and captioned, "JESSE LEWIS JACKSON, RM"; Bureau airtel to Chicago, dated 8/20/70, captioned "MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM-C".

~~CG 6896-R~~ <sup>INFORMANT</sup>, reliable, in the past, and familiar with activities of leading Blacks in the Chicago area, was discreetly contacted regarding statements made by JESSE JACKSON about Director HOOVER and the MARTIN LUTHER KING story when same first became public. He advised JACKSON has a publicity gimmick going and the matter will die out as soon as he has reaped all the benefits he can from this matter. Source could give no thoughts as to why JACKSON took a position opposite to Mrs. KING or Rev. ABERNATHY and ANDREW YOUNG on this matter, but was adamant in stating JACKSON was "publicity hunting".

Source on a later contact was discreetly asked if he had any idea as to Mrs. ROSCOE BEACH and her purpose in circulating a petition backing JACKSON and condemning the Director. He advised he had read about the petition in the newspaper, but had no idea as to who she was. Source stated the petition certainly was limited in scope as he never saw this petition. Source further stated that he was of the opinion BEACH must have circulated this petition in her own area only.

- ④ - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - 157-6760 (JESSE LEWIS JACKSON)
- 5 - Chicago
  - 1 - 157-953 (JACKSON)
  - 1 - A) 170-190
  - 1 - A) 170-1008
  - 1 - A) 170-400

*JL 8/25*

REC-61  
EX-110

17 AUG 31 1970

SPW: pas (9) This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Approved: SEP 14 1970  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_

INT. SEC.  
*RA*

RECEIVED... 100-106670-331



*INFORMANT*

~~CG-6896-R~~, during contacts to date, has again advised JACKSON would use any subject to gain publicity for as long as the subject could be of value to him. On one contact, he noted that JACKSON had made no further statements against the Director since prior to the circulation of this petition.

*INFORMANT*

~~CS-CG-6566-R~~, reliable in the past and familiar with leading Blacks in the Chicago area, has been discreetly contacted regarding JACKSON's charges against the Director since its inception. He advised substantially as above. On 8/26/70, source advised rumors circulating in the Black community are that JESSE JACKSON was reprimanded by leading Blacks in the Chicago area for his attack on the Director. Reportedly, AL BOUTE, a Black member of the Chicago Board of Education, and ED BERRY, former head of the Chicago Urban League, were among the individuals who took JACKSON to task in this matter. Source noted JACKSON has made no further comments about the Director and thus he feels the above has merit.

Source had no knowledge of Mrs. ROSCOE BEACH, but advised he had read about her petition in the newspaper. He felt the petition must have been very limited in circulation as the only time he heard about it from any of his contacts was through the news media after it had been circulated.

It is the opinion of the above mentioned sources that the issue of the petition is now a "dead issue" within the Black community.

*INFORMANT*

~~CG-7266-R (PROB)~~, reliable, has been discreetly contacted regarding above, at which time he advised he has not heard one additional word of discussion concerning the BEACH petition and/or additional derogatory statements by JACKSON concerning the Director. Source advised to the best of his knowledge, JACKSON has not made any additional vicious or derogatory statements regarding the Director since those statements made prior to the petition's circulation on or about 8/13/70. This source further advised he has heard no additional discussion within the Black community regarding Mrs. ROSCOE BEACH and source considers Mrs. BEACH a "non-entity" within the "Black Movement".

It is common knowledge JACKSON can be easily classified as a "publicity parasite" as he readily attaches himself to any situation which he feels can be utilized for self-sustaining purposes, namely, projecting himself into the public limelight. Based on the above observations of knowledgeable sources, it appears JACKSON has, in this instance, defeated himself. It also appears the BEACH petition is a "dead issue" as she apparently has received limited support from the Black community and that has been confined to the immediate area in which she and JACKSON reside.

It appears JACKSON has possibly put himself at odds with the leadership of the SCIC. He certainly has received no backing from National Leaders of SCIC in this matter.

JACKSON has made no further comments concerning the Director, to date at least, since prior to 8/13/70, and the news media has made no further reference at all to the BEACH petition.

Chicago feels it is inadvisable to undertake any activity which will revive this matter as to do so will only give JACKSON a topic he can utilize to further project his image - good or bad - he doesn't care which, so long as it is publicity.

Chicago sets forth the above observations for Bureau consideration. In the event the Bureau desires to pursue this matter further, this office is in a position to submit suggestions on methods to discredit BEACH, if she has not sufficiently done so already, and has sources available to carry through tactics such as letters to the "Chicago Daily News".

FBI

Date: 8/18/70

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6760)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-953) (P)  
SUBJECT: JESSE LEWIS JACKSON  
RM

*Handwritten:* TDR  
GLASS

*Handwritten:* Jan

Re Chicago airtel to Bureau dated 8/14/70, and captioned, "MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM-C".

On 8/18/70, <sup>informant</sup> GG-7266-R (PROB), reliable, was discreetly contacted at which time he advised he is not personally acquainted with Mrs. ROSCOE BEACH, however, he is aware of the fact that Mrs. BEACH circulated a petition throughout her community (in the area of 6720 South Creiger, Chicago, Illinois), calling for the dismissal of FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER. CG-7266-R (PROB) stated that JACKSON is a neighbor of Mrs. BEACH, in fact the <sup>informant</sup> back yard of the JACKSON residence faces the back yard of the BEACH residence.

As the Bureau is aware, Mrs. GALE SAYERS, wife of Chicago Bear football player, GALE SAYERS, and RAMSEY LEWIS, leader of the Ramsey Lewis Jazz Quartet, both reside in the same area as Mrs. BEACH.

The newspaper article from the August 13, 1970 issue of the "Chicago Daily News", a daily Chicago newspaper, reflected an article captioned "100 Prominent Chicagoans Ask Nixon to Fire Hoover". This article reflected that Mrs. SAYERS and RAMSEY LEWIS signed the petition as well as other prominent Chicagoans. This source advised that apparently Mrs. BEACH circulated the petition only in her own residence area and the spectacular headline regarding prominent Chicagoans signing this petition was initiated by the "Chicago Daily News".

*Handwritten:* 157-6-110-25

- ② - Bureau (RM) EX-110
- 2 - Chicago
- 1 - A) 170-400

REC-61

3 AUG 20 1970

SPW: pas  
(4)

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Approved: SPW Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CG 157-953

The source advised there has been very little comment or discussion in the Negro community of Chicago regarding this petition. The source further advised that to the best of his knowledge, a copy of this petition is not available and from the information he has been able to obtain, this petition bearing the names of the signees has not been disseminated to the news media.

Although the possibility exists that JACKSON may have been active in initiating the circulation of this petition, the source feels that Mrs. BEACH was solely responsible for the petition circulation throughout her residence area.

This source further advised that on August 18, 1970, he was in the SCIC office, East 47th Street, Chicago, Illinois, and during his visit to this office, he heard no discussion regarding this petition. The source advised the above mentioned article, however, was on the bulletin board of the SCIC office.

*informant*  
CG 4266-R-(PROB); advised he is continuing to discreetly follow this situation but stated he has heard no additional discussion by members or sympathizers of SCIC regarding this petition or the circulation of other petitions calling for the dismissal of FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER.

Chicago continues to follow and report the activities regarding JACKSON and will immediately advise the Bureau of pertinent information regarding JACKSON's statements.

F B I

Date: 8/14/70

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Brennan CD \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-35356)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM-C

*Handwritten initials: "M" and "R. G. S."*

Enclosed herewith for information of the Bureau is a newspaper article captioned, "100 prominent Chicagoans ask Nixon to fire Hoover," which was set forth in the August 13, 1970, issue of the "Chicago Daily News", a daily Chicago newspaper.

This article reflects a petition was circulated and signed by more than 100 prominent Chicagoans and the petition has been sent to President Nixon demanding he fire FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER. This article also states the petition "calls on Hoover to make an immediate public apology for disclosures that he reportedly used information obtained by wiretapping on the telephone of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to pressure the civil rights leader into toning down his criticism of the FBI".

The article reflects the circulation of this petition through Chicago's south side community, Jackson Park Highlands, was handled by Mrs. ROSCOE BEACH, a master teacher in the Chicago schools.

- A review of the Chicago Office indices reflects no pertinent identifiable information regarding Mrs. ROSCOE BEACH.

Contact with logical sources has been negative regarding BEACH.

Chicago is taking no further action regarding BEACH at this time.

Enclosed newspaper article is being furnished to the Bureau for information purposes.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1)
- 1 - Chicago

SPW: pas This document is prepared in response to your request and its dissemination is limited to official proceedings by your Commission and the committee. Sentry not be disclosed to any other person without the express approval of the FBI.

Memo to Moore by C. D. ...  
 8-18-70; CEG; EKW

RACIAL INT. SECT.

CG 100-35356

MRS. X

It is to be noted ROSCOE BEACH was contacted on July 31, 1970, during which time BuAgents were attempting to locate his daughter, CAROLYN BEACH, 6720 South Creiger, Chicago, Illinois. CAROLYN BEACH is presently under development as a potential racial informant. \* During this contact, ROSCOE BEACH was extremely cooperative with BuAgents, however, he advised his wife is very sympathetic to the black movement, but has not been involved in black militant activities.

Consideration

potential informant  
ME

\* SUPERVISOR SAM WALLACE, Chicago ADVISED 8-18-70 that CAROLYN BEACH no longer being considered for development as source because of MOTHER'S ACTIONS.

MEMO

SSC LETTER 7-8-75

ITEM #6

*Retain*

FBI

Date: 2/15/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)  
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-5586) (P)  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM-C

*Handwritten initials and scribbles*

On 2/13/64, AT ~~1379-S\*~~, reliable in the past, stated that CORETTA KING (wife of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) on that date contacted MARGARET SHANNON regarding CORETTA's concert to be sponsored by SHANNON's church or organization. The concert is to take place 5/18/65. Source stated it was indicated at one time that SHANNON's husband may be a minister in a Northern Presbyterian Church, possibly Columbus, Ohio.

SHANNON and CORETTA talked about KING's winning of the Nobel Peace Prize. CORETTA stated that when they had heard that KING had won the prize they thought that the pressures would be lightened and KING had achieved the image he should have. She stated it was at this time that Director HOOVER of the FBI had attacked him and this caused a great deal of anxiety for KING. CORETTA said she did not realize how much this had affected KING until he told her after their return from Europe how much he had been thinking of this. CORETTA said that this attack really hurt because HOOVER has a large following in this country and many of these people will believe anything he says. CORETTA said that they expected attacks from irresponsible people but one such as this really hurts. CORETTA told SHANNON; however, that they had since found out there is a regular conspiracy to destroy KING's image. She explained that it was not the extremist elements like the Klan that she was referring to but "right wingers" who are responsible citizens.

- 3- Bureau (RM)
- 2- Cincinnati (100-Margaret Shannon) (RM)
- 3- Atlanta (1-100-5586)
  - (1-100-6351) (Coretta King)
  - (1-100-6670-A)

RRN:elt  
(8)

REC-58

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
Let to all  
1/27/65  
8/1/65  
100-106-670-878  
P  
P  
P

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI. M Per

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

INTX 5/15/65



AT 100-5586

RRN:elt

CORETTA stated that one such citizen, whom they trust, has told them that this is true. She said this person knows that all possible sources are being used to gather all data on KING. She described this person who furnished the information as a friend of KING's father who respects CORETTA and KING, JR. She said that this person warned them that KING was being watched with the purpose of destroying his image in the event he makes any mistakes. She said that this person feels that some of this is due to the fact that HOOVER was twice nominated for the Nobel Prize but never won it.

CORETTA expressed worry about KING because in addition to his heavy schedule and all the problems of the movement he has the added pressure of feeling that he is closely being watched.

According to AT 1379-S\* SHANNON was sympathetic to CORETTA and stated that even the churches were being corroded by these trends. At this point SHANNON mentioned the name of a person (not known to source) but possibly referring to SHANNON's husband. SHANNON said this person had been investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee a number of times and had always been cleared but each time it starts all over again as if each previous investigation had not been conducted. SHANNON said that when "they" went to "SHRIVER" (possibly SARGENT SHRIVER, Head of the Anti-Poverty Program) he could have made a clarifying statement on the matter but did not.

(The implication here seemed to be that another investigation of some sort had started which SARGENT SHRIVER could have stopped by making his personal recommendations or statements).

AT 1379-S\* further advised that CORETTA said it was surprising how many calls she and her husband received

AT 100-5586  
RRN:elt

~~from people wanting to know if KING is a Communist. She said they even get such calls from people who know them or who have made contributions to the SCLC.~~

SHANNON indicated that she was going to Memphis, Tennessee, to see someone on the matter dealing with the racial question.

LEAD:

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Attempt to identify MARGARET SHANNON, possibly the wife of a Presbyterian minister in Columbus, through contact of sources. Take no action which would disclose the Bureau's interest to unauthorized individuals.

SECURITY IS PARAMOUNT

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will attempt to identify MARGARET SHANNON through contacting established sources.

If the information from AT 1379-S\* is disseminated it should be classified SECRET. This source has furnished highly sensitive information with respect to the racial situation in the Atlanta area, and it is felt this classification is necessary in order to protect the valuable position of the informant.

January 21, 1965

100-114670  
Mr. Stanhope Lineberry  
2910 Forest Park Drive  
Charlotte, North Carolina

REC'D-READING ROOM  
F B I  
JAN 21 3 25 PM '65

Dear Mr. Lineberry:

I received your letter of January 13th, with enclosure, and I want you to know of my appreciation for your thoughtfulness. It was good of you to write to me, and I thank you for your kind regards.

Please accept my best wishes for a New Year filled with an abundance of all good things.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

*W. J. ...*  
✓

RECEIVED IN DETAIL TELETYPE

1 - Charlotte - Enclosures (2)

NOTE: Mr. Lineberry is a graduate in good standing of the 4th Session of the FBI National Academy (January - April, 1937) The enclosure was a copy of an editorial, "Dr. King's Acceptance Speech," broadcast 12-23-64 by Allan H. Newcomb, Public Affairs Director, Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Company, Charlotte, N. C., over Station WBTV.

It makes no mention of the Director or the FBI but castigates Reverend Martin Luther King for his statements concerning the Negroes' status in the United States in his world-wide received acceptance speech on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Alan H. Newcomb is on the Special Correspondents' List. The editorial is not being acknowledged since it makes no mention of the FBI.

KLS:deh This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

MAIL ROOM

1. on \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Tolson  
 Mr. Belmont  
 Mr. Mohr  
 Mr. DeLoach  
 Mr. Casper  
 Mr. Callahan  
 Mr. Conrad  
 Mr. Felt  
 Mr. Gale  
 Mr. Rosen  
 Mr. Sullivan  
 Mr. Tavel  
 Mr. Trotter  
 Tele. Room  
 Miss Holmes  
 Miss Gandy

2910 Forest Park Drive  
 Charlotte, North Carolina

13 January 1965

Mr. J. E. Hoover, Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 U. S. Department of Justice  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On 23 December 1964 I viewed the TV Editorial which was broadcast over Station WBTV by Alan H. Newcomb, Public Affairs Director for the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Company here in Charlotte.

Because of the national interest in the subject matter reviewed in this editorial, a written copy was secured and is attached for your information.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely

*Stanhope Lineberry*  
 Stanhope Lineberry, NA

Attachment

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and its content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

*Philip*  
*Phillips*  
*Jan 18 1965*

JAN 18 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ENCLOSURE

*ack: 1-21-65*  
*KIS:dlh*

*Records*  
*CC-100-106670*  
 100-106670  
 NOT RECORDED  
 145 JAN 26 1965

5NA  
 Mailing List  
 Res. adv.  
 Change Noted  
 1-19-65  
*lj*

21 JAN 18 1965

ENCLOSURE



# EDITORIAL

## DR. KING'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

BROADCAST DATE: December 23, 1964

We congratulate the Reverend Martin Luther King on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1964. He deserves the honor because he has led the people of his race toward full equality of citizenship, and has steadfastly refused the temptation to encourage violent demonstration.

But his speech accepting the award was a great disappointment. If Dr. King had been more familiar with Communist propaganda tactics, and with the uses that can be made of his speech, he would probably have revised it.

Even Western Europeans who are not Communists have only a foggy impression of race relations in this country. Along with Asians and Africans, they are most likely to get an even more false impression from Dr. King's words.

An American audience would easily understand what he meant when he said "twenty-two million Negroes of the United States are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice." But he was speaking to the world, not to an American audience. Those words without qualification can give a very wrong idea of the American society, and Dr. King did not qualify them. He emphasized all of the dark aspects of the race question in this country, but mentioned the bright spots only casually.

The European or African would suppose that the Negro in the United States is subjected to the worst kinds of oppression, and that he is fighting unaided for his own improvement. And that is just the kind of picture that the Communist radio broadcasts have been trying to create for years.

# X Hoover Says Dr. King Wasn't Worthy of Nobel

NEW YORK (UPI) — FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover says the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was "the last one in the world" who should have received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Hoover also said in a Time magazine interview published yesterday that he turned down a request by then-Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy to lower FBI qualifications in order to hire more blacks.

"I said, 'Bobby, that's not going to be done as long as I'm director of the bureau.' He said, 'I don't think you're being cooperative.' And I said, 'why don't you get a new director?'"

## "Stick to Your Guns"

Hoover said he spoke with President Lyndon B. Johnson about the matter and Johnson told him to "stick to your guns."

The FBI director said he once called King a liar when the civil rights leader said he never had criticized the FBI. Hoover said he told King, "if you ever say anything that's a lie again I'll brand you a liar again."

"Strange to say, he never attacked the bureau again for as

long as he lived." Hoover said. King was assassinated April 4, 1968.

Hoover said the exchange occurred in December 1964 while King was preparing to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

"He was the last one in the world who should ever have received it," Hoover said. "I held him in complete contempt because of the thing he said and because of his conduct."

## Protecting the President

Hoover said the FBI cooperates with the Secret Service to protect the president on trips abroad. "You never have to bother about a president being shot by Puerto Ricans or Mexicans. They don't shoot very straight. But if they come at you with a knife, beware."

Hoover said the FBI is recruiting 50 percent of its agents from the officer corps in Vietnam, whose members are all "above average in personal appearance," he said.

He said he will remain FBI chief as long as his physical condition permits. Hoover is 72.

United Press  
International  
News Article

100-106670-3849  
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 17, 1964

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

Special Agent in Charge Roney, New York Office, telephonically furnished the following information at 8:45 a.m. today (12/17/64). Late last night NY 4212-S\* reported that Bayard Rustin suggested to Harry Wachtel that Martin Luther King should ask President Johnson to drop him off in Atlanta when the President is en route to Texas after King visits with Johnson on Friday (presumably tomorrow 12/18/64). Rustin and Wachtel are close advisers to King with subversive pasts.

Same source advised that later last night Rustin related the following to two acquaintances, Rochele Horowitz and Tom Kahn. Rustin said that when he was in Cole, Norway, with King, he was called down by the police at 4:30 a.m. one morning because the police had caught a prostitute coming out of the room of A. D. King (brother of Martin). A. D. King attempted to hide when the police came by running into Martin's room. The police accused the prostitute of stealing money, but she claimed she was paid by the occupant of A. D. King's room. Rustin claimed that he talked the police out of arresting the prostitute in order to avoid besmirching King's reputation (presumably Martin's). Rustin also claimed that members of Martin Luther King's entourage had naked girls running up and down the corridors of a hotel where they stayed and were bringing white prostitutes to their rooms.

OBSERVATIONS:

The foregoing is the first indication we have had that President Johnson may see King in Washington 12/18/64. It is believed that the President and the Acting Attorney General should have the foregoing information.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached for approval are letters to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, and to the Acting Attorney General, with copies for the Deputy Attorney General and Assistant Attorneys General Yeagley and Marshall.

100-106670

Enclosures

SFP:pah  
(9)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

SECRET

The Acting Attorney General

December 17, 1964

Director, FBI

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

Confidential sources of this Bureau who have supplied reliable information in the past have furnished the following information.

On December 16, 1964, Bayard Rustin suggested to Harry Wachtel that Martin Luther King, Jr., should ask President Johnson to drop him off in Atlanta, Georgia, when the President is en route to Texas after King visits with the President on Friday. Rustin and Wachtel are frequent advisors of King. Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Wachtel is Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was a member of the Communist Party, USA, in 1944.

Also on December 16, 1964, Rustin related the following to two acquaintances. According to Rustin, when he was in Oslo, Norway, with Martin Luther King, Jr., in connection with the latter's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, Rustin was called down by the police one morning at 4:30 a.m. because the police had caught a prostitute coming out of the room of A. D. King, Martin's brother. A. D. King attempted to evade the police by running into Martin's room. The police accused the prostitute of stealing money. The prostitute claimed, however, that she was paid by the occupant of A. D. King's room. Rustin claimed that he talked the police out of arresting the prostitute in order to avoid besmirching the reputation.

MAILED 8  
DEC 17 1964  
COMM-FBI

*Re...*

100-138790-  
431822-  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-138790-431822-

100-106670-635

SFP:rbm  
(14)

SECRET

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

67 DEC 29 1964

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT



SECRET

The Acting Attorney General

*not official* ~~of Martin Luther King, Jr. Rustin also said that members of King's entourage had raised girls running up and down the corridors of a hotel where they stayed and that they were bringing white prostitutes into their rooms.~~

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Veasley  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

See memorandum Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan dated 12/17/64, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter - C," SFP:pah.

Classified "Secret" as the information is from NY-4212-S\*, a sensitive source relative to the racial field, who is of continuing value. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could endanger the source's security and possibly do damage to the Nation's defense interests.

- 2 -

SECRET

December 17, 1964

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought that the President would be interested in the following information which has been furnished by confidential sources of this Bureau who have supplied reliable information in the past.

On December 16, 1964, Bayard Rustin suggested to Harry Wachtel that Martin Luther King, Jr., should ask President Johnson to drop him off in Atlanta, Georgia, when the President is en route to Texas after King visits with the President on Friday. Rustin and Wachtel are frequent advisors of King. Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Wachtel is Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was a member of the Communist Party, USA, in 1944.

Also on December 16, 1964, Rustin related the following to two acquaintances. According to Rustin, when he was in Oslo, Norway, with Martin Luther King, Jr., in connection with the latter's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, ~~Rustin was called down by the police one morning at 4:30 a.m. because the police had caught a prostitute~~

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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 27 P. 11

not processed

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-106670  
 SFP:rbm (10)

REC- 53

SECRET

11 DEC 18 1964  
 SEE NOTE PAGE 2

Group 1  
 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

SECRET

Honorable Bill D. Moyers

~~coming out of the room of A. D. King, Martin's brother. A. D. King attempted to evade the police by running into Martin's room. The police accused the prostitute of stealing money. The prostitute claimed, however, that she was paid by the occupant of A. D. King's room. Rustin claimed that he talked the police out of arresting the prostitute in order to avoid besmirching the reputation of Martin Luther King, Jr. Rustin also said that members of King's entourage had naked girls running up and down the corridors of a hotel where they stayed and that they were bringing white prostitutes into their rooms.~~

not  
Special

This information is also being furnished to the Acting Attorney General and other officials of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

See memorandum Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan dated 12/17/64, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter - C," SFP:pah.

Classified "Secret" as the information is from NY 4212-S\*, a sensitive source relative to the racial field, who is of continuing value. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could endanger the source's security and possibly do damage to the Nation's defense interests.

SECRET

- 2 -

F B I

Date: 12/10/64 REC-34

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)  
FROM: LEGAT, LONDON (100-3329) (P)

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM - C

Remyairtel 11/25/64.

In accordance with Bureau instructions, I personally furnished orally to Ambassador TIBBETTS, American Embassy, Oslo, information concerning subject. This was done on 11/30/64. Miss TIBBETTS stated she was most appreciative of this information and that she would take no action whatsoever which might disclose her knowledge of such. She said that she was giving a small reception for KING and his group on the evening of 12/9/64. He is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize on 12/10/64. On the evening of 12/11/64 the Ambassador is giving a formal reception for KING, the Nobel Committee and Norwegian Government officials.

On 12/2/64 I furnished orally the same information to U.S. Ambassador PARSONS, American Embassy, Stockholm, Sweden. Ambassador PARSONS expressed his appreciation for the Bureau furnishing this information to him. He stated he had originally intended to meet KING on his arrival at the Airport in Stockholm on 12/12/64. He said this was somewhat unusual in that he normally does not meet this type of group. After reflection he stated he would not personally go to the airport but would send a representative from the Embassy. According to Ambassador PARSONS, KING was to preach at a local church in Stockholm and then was to meet with a student group.

On 12/5/64 I furnished the same information, orally, to U.S. Ambassador WHITE in Copenhagen, Denmark. Mrs. WHITE was also appreciative of the information and commented it was very helpful to know this, even though she would take no specific action as a result of it. She was planning to give a small reception for Dr. KING while he was in Copenhagen.

- 3 - Bureau
- 1 - Liaison (sent direct)
- 3 - London (100-3329, 100-1535, 134-28)

REC-34

cc 808 RB  
638

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

DEC 25 1964

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

PHIP

FBI

J

INT. SEC. DIV.

SUN

London 100-3329

Newspaper clippings regarding subject are being forwarded to the Bureau separately.

~~On 11/25/64 British Security Service, MI-5, advised that BAYARD RUSTIN had remained in London only a short time and had departed for New York on 11/14/64. According to MI-5, RUSTIN had been in contact with a group known as Christian Action. This is a group headed by Canon COLLINS, who also heads the Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament. Christian Action opposes apartheid in South Africa. According to MI-5 there are South African Communists in the movement.~~

~~On 11/25/64 VICTOR DOLLING (Bufile 134-12282) advised that RUSTIN had been in contact with COLLINS and had arranged for KING to speak at a Christian Action meeting on 12/7/64 in London. DOLLING also informed that while RUSTIN was in London he was in touch with ESME GOLDBERG, whose husband received a life sentence in South Africa for anti-apartheid acts. RUSTIN also saw RICA HODGESON. According to DOLLING, HODGESON and GOLDBERG are openly declared Communists. DOLLING stated RUSTIN was also in contact with the Committee for Democratic Rights in America. RUSTIN met RAYMOND KUNERE, who is a member of the African National Congress.~~

~~On 12/8/64 DOLLING reported that he attended the Christian Action meeting where KING spoke on 12/7/64. This meeting was covered by American TV and radio people. There was a large crowd. Prominent at this meeting were PEGGY DUFF, who represents the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (DUFF was mentioned in Bucab 11/10/64). Also present at the meeting was Dr. AMBROSE REEVES, the Bishop of Johannesburg. According to DOLLING, KING specifically asked that Dr. DAVID PITT, a West Indian, be at the meeting. PITT represents the Afro-Caribbean Association and according to DOLLING, is a Trotskyite.~~

~~DOLLING also stated that after the meeting a middle-aged American inquired as to the cost of hiring the hall. When told how much it was, this American wrote out a check for the full amount. DOLLING attempted to look at the check to identify the American but was unable to do so.~~

~~We are checking further with MI-5 for any pertinent information which they may have obtained regarding subject's visit to England. The Bureau will be kept advised.~~

*Presoney  
declassified  
1-7-16-4*

December 2, 1964

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought that the President would like to have the following information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., which was obtained from confidential sources who have supplied reliable information in the past.

King, who is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, December 10, 1964, is currently working on the preparation of a five-minute acceptance speech. He has requested several individuals to furnish him material from which he intends to choose the best things to say. Included among these contributors are Clarence Jones, Stanley David Levison, Harry Wachtel and Bayard Rustin. All four of these individuals are frequent advisors to King.

Jones, in the mid-1950's, held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York; The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

100-106670

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SFP:fh  
(11)

SECRET

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

REC-23/100-106670-1856

DEC 3 1964

NO DEC 1964  TELETYPE UNIT

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

JEC 2 9 14 PM '64

SECRET

Honorable Bill D. Moyers

Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This information is also being furnished to other officials of the Government.

NOTE:

Sincerely yours,

Classified "Secret" as the information is from highly sensitive sources such as ~~AT-1380-S\*~~. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could affect the security of these sources who are of continuing value and thus possibly be injurious to the national defense. Information obtained from NYtel 11/25/64 and ATtel 11/27/64. Dissemination to the military intelligence agencies being made by separate communication.

SECRET

- 2 -

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach

The Acting Attorney General

December 2, 1964

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Confidential sources who have furnished reliable information in the past have supplied the following information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

King, who is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, December 10, 1964, is currently working on the preparation of a five-minute acceptance speech. He has requested several individuals to furnish him material from which he intends to choose the best things to say. Included among these contributors are Clarence Jones, Stanley David Levison, Harry Wachtel and Bayard Rustin. All four of these individuals are frequent advisors to King.

Jones, in the mid-1950's, held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

As of July, 1963, Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944 that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

100-106670

MAILED 4  
DEC 2 - 1964  
COMM-FBI

REC-47

100-106670-564

SFP:fhd  
(15)

19 DEC 4 1964

SECRET - ST-108 SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

UNOFFICIAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

79 DEC 4 - 1964 TELETYPE UNIT



**SECRET**

**The Acting Attorney General**

Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

**NOTE:**

Classified "Secret" as the information is from highly sensitive sources such as AT-1380-S\*. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could affect the security of these sources who are of continuing value and thus possibly be injurious to the national defense. Information obtained from NYtel 11/25/64 and ATtel 11/27/64. Dissemination to the military intelligence agencies being made by separate communication.

**SECRET**

- 2 -

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
  - 1 - Mr. Mohr
  - 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- DATE: 11/30/64
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
  - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
  - 1 - Liaison
  - 1 - J. F. Bland
  - 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
  - 1 - S. F. Phillips

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

Memorandum from D. J. Brennan, Jr., to Mr. Sullivan, 11/13/64, recommended, and the Director approved, that Legat Bates, London, be authorized to orally brief the United States Ambassadors in London and Oslo concerning Martin Luther King, Jr. The briefing was concerning both the communist influences on King and King's degenerate nature. Bates had requested such permission because he anticipated that the Ambassadors might consider entertaining King while he is in Europe to receive the Nobel Peace Prize and Bates believed he could forestall such action by the Ambassadors if they were briefed.

Assistant Legat Minnich, London, telephoned early today (11/30/64) and advised that Bates would also like to brief our Ambassadors at Stockholm and Copenhagen as King is to also visit these cities. The Legat's office, London, will telephone again via cost-free defense facilities tomorrow (12/1/64).

Our Ambassador at Stockholm is a career Minister, J. Graham Parsons. The Ambassador at Copenhagen is Mrs. Katherine Elkus White. We have nothing unfavorable in our files concerning these two Ambassadors which would preclude giving them the same briefing we previously gave the Ambassadors at London and Oslo. Our relations with the Ambassadors are friendly and it is believed that Bates should be permitted to brief them.

### RECOMMENDATION:

If approved, we will tell Bates that he may orally brief our Ambassadors in Stockholm and Copenhagen along the same lines as he previously briefed the Ambassadors at London and Oslo. Upon approval this memorandum should be routed to Liaison for the necessary advice to Bates via cost-free telephone facilities.

100-106670

SFP:jad This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the contents may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

REC-347 DEC 4 1964

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11-24-64

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

|            |                                     |
|------------|-------------------------------------|
| Tolson     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Belmont    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mohr       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| DeLoach    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Casper     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Callahan   | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Conrad     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Evans      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Malone     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Sullivan   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Tavel      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Trotter    | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Tele. Room | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Holmes     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Gandy      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

*D. J. Brennan*  
10-

SA Orrin Bartlett of the Liaison Section advised me today that he had been requested by Frederick Traband, Security Officer, State Department, to have the FBI brief the Central Intelligence Agency(CIA) on the background of Martin Luther King. Traband also said that the FBI should request CIA to give close coverage to King's activities while King is in Europe to accept his Nobel Peace Prize. Traband further said that at the moment there are partial plans for King to make a rather extensive trip through Africa on behalf of the United States Government in early 1965. SA Bartlett asked me what he should advise Traband.

I feel that we should not comply with Traband's request. We have already furnished some information to CIA concerning King's activities. We plan to disseminate to CIA in the immediate future a document which will give King's complete background.

We have no reason to request CIA to surveil King while he is in Europe. If State Department wants CIA to place him under surveillance, it is up to State Department to make the request of CIA.

*12/1/64 Traband, State advised.*  
*CHB*

*J*  
*Phillips*

ACTION:

If you approve, we will advise Traband that it is already our policy in our liaison with CIA to furnish that Agency with information of interest to them. Traband should also be advised that the FBI does not contemplate requesting CIA to cover King's activities while he is abroad. If State Department wants King covered, State should make the request directly of CIA.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. D.J. Brennan (ATT: Bartlett)
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

*I concur*

FJB:skw  
(8)

REC 30

*101-4-8794-209*

64 DEC 8 1964

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside the Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the contents may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |                                     |
|------------|-------------------------------------|
| Tolson     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Belmont    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mohr       | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DeLoach    | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Casper     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Callahan   | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Conrad     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Evans      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Gale       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Rosen      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Sullivan   | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Tavel      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Trotter    | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Tele. Room | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Holmes     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Gandy      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *S*

DATE: 11/23/64

FROM : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. *DJB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM - C

Following a name check request from State for information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., the Bureau sent a letter dated 11/13/64, to Mr. G. Marvin Gentile, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security, Department of State. This letter made reference to information on King previously furnished to State and transmitted a more current report, together with a letterhead memorandum which contained information concerning King's immoral conduct.

On 11/23/64, Liaison Agent Bartlett was contacted by Mr. Fred Traband, Office of Security, State, who indicated he was calling on behalf of Mr. Gentile. Mr. Traband said that King will be going to Europe in early December to receive the Nobel Peace Prize and consideration is being given to asking King to go to Africa following this on behalf of the US Government. Mr. Traband said that under Public Law 402, State furnishes the money, however, the U. S. Information Agency (USIA) is the sponsoring agency on this type of assignment. Mr. Traband asked if State could furnish a briefing to Mr. Paul McNichol, Director of Security for USIA regarding King.

Pursuant to your instructions, Mr. Traband was advised that the Bureau would have no objection to this briefing and that care should be used to maintain the same classification as used by the Bureau, part of which is Top Secret.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner (Attn. Mr. Phillips)
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Bartlett

OHB:chs

(6) *chs*

REC-1 100-106670-55

10 DEC 1 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and its content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

DEC 2 1964

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

JFK Law 10(a)1

SECRET

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - J. F. Bland

November 23, 1964

BY LIAISON

- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

My letter to you dated November 12, 1964, forwarded a memorandum of same date containing information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., for activities in connection with his return to the United States after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway. Confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past have supplied the following additional information in this matter which I thought might be of interest to the President.

On November 14, 1964, Harry Wachtel told King that President Lyndon B. Johnson is presently rejecting a number of engagements, but is not rejecting "their's." Wachtel outlined some plans he is working on to honor King and said that one of them would be a dinner for King to be given by President Johnson. King agreed to the plans mentioned. In connection with the foregoing mention of the President's engagements, it will be recalled that King's associates had been endeavoring to have President Johnson greet King in New York City when King returns from Norway. 100-106670

On November 17, 1964, Bayard Rustin was in contact with Frank Montero of the United States Mission to the United Nations (UN). They discussed a reception which is to be given by UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson in honor of King on December 4, 1964. Montero stated that it had been decided that among the dignitaries to be present at this reception will be Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Harry Wachtel is a frequent advisor to King and the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern

100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

SECRET

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SEP 1964  
 NOV 1964  
 (12)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

NOT  
 EXCISED

NOV 23 4 13 PM '64  
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Weyers  
 TSBY  
 M  
 E



Honorable Bill D. Moyers

Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

Bayard Rustin is also a frequent advisor to King and is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This information is also being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

NOTE:

Sincerely yours,

Classified "Secret" as the information is from AT-1380-S\* and NY-4212-S\*, highly sensitive sources of extreme value relative to the racial situation. The disclosure of this information could reveal the sources' identities and thus possibly injure the national defense. Information taken from ATairtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) 11/18/64 and NYairtel and LHM 11/18/64. Separate dissemination is being made to the military intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

- 2 -

SECRET

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

November 23, 1964

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

Honorable Dean Rusk  
 The Secretary of State  
 Washington, D. C.

*11-24-64  
 delivered  
 [Signature]*

Dear Mr. Rusk:

My letter to you dated November 12, 1964, forwarded a memorandum of same date containing information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., for activities in connection with his return to the United States after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway. Confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past have supplied the following additional information in this matter.

On November 14, 1964, Harry Wachtel told King that President Lyndon B. Johnson is presently rejecting a number of engagements, but is not rejecting "their's." Wachtel outlined some plans he is working on to honor King and said that one of them would be a dinner for King to be given by President Johnson. King agreed to the plans mentioned. In connection with the foregoing mention of the President's engagements, it will be recalled that King's associates had been endeavoring to have President Johnson greet King in New York City when King returns from Norway.

NOV 23 1964  
 10:00 PM '64

On November 17, 1964, Bayard Rustin was in contact with Frank Montero of the United States Mission to the United Nations (UN). They discussed a reception which is to be given by UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson in honor of King on December 4, 1964. Montero stated that it had been decided that you would be among the dignitaries to be present at the reception.

REC-58 100-106670-54

Harry Wachtel is a frequent advisor to King, and the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

SFP:jad

(13)

SECRET

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

NOV 25 1964

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

UNRECORDED COPY FILED

Honorable Dean Rusk

Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

Bayard Rustin is also a frequent advisor to King and is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, and other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" as the information is from AT 1380-S\* and NY 4212-S\*, highly sensitive sources of extreme value relative to the racial situation. The disclosure of this information could reveal the sources' identities and thus possibly injure the national defense. Information taken from ATairtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) 11/18/64 and NYairtel and LHM 11/18/64. Separate dissemination is being made to the military intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

SECRET

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

The Acting Attorney General

November 23, 1964

Director, FBI

- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

My letter to you dated November 12, 1964, forwarded a memorandum of same date containing information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., for activities in connection with his return to the United States after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway. Confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past have supplied the following additional information in this matter.

On November 14, 1964, Harry Wachtel told King that President Lyndon B. Johnson is presently rejecting a number of engagements, but is not rejecting "their's." Wachtel outlined some plans he is working on to honor King and said that one of them would be a dinner for King to be given by President Johnson. King agreed to the plans mentioned. In connection with the foregoing mention of the President's engagements, it will be recalled that King's associates had been endeavoring to have President Johnson greet King in New York City when King returns from Norway.

On November 17, 1964, Bayard Rustin was in contact with Frank Montero of the United States Mission to the United Nations (UN). They discussed a reception which is to be given by UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson in honor of King on December 4, 1964. Montero stated that it had been decided that among the dignitaries to be present at this reception will be Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Harry Wachtel is a frequent advisor to King and the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern

100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

SFP:jad  
(16)

SECRET

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOT RECORDED

167 NOV 24 1964  
 Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification  
 NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

79 NOV 25 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-106670-532

**The Acting Attorney General**

Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

Bayard Rustin is also a frequent advisor to King and is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, and other interested officials of the Government.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" as the information is from AT-1380-S\* and NY-4212-S\*, highly sensitive sources of extreme value relative to the racial situation. The disclosure of this information could reveal the sources' identities and thus possibly injure the national defense. Information taken from ATairtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) 11/18/64 and NYairtel and LHM 11/18/64. Separate dissemination is being made to the military intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

SECRET

*Sec 22*

Belmont  
DeLoach

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner

November 23, 1964

BY LIAISON

- 1 - S. F. Phillips
- 1 - T. P. Rosack

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

*C. I. [unclear]*

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought the following information would be of interest to the President.

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past has advised that a Mr. Askey (phonetic) of the United States Information Agency contacted the office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at Atlanta, Georgia, on November 19, 1964, and stated that all expenses incurred by Martin Luther King, Jr., and his group traveling to Oslo, Norway, to accept the Nobel Peace Prize would be paid by the United States Department of State. Conditions attached to this payment, according to Mr. Askey, are that King visit Cairo, Egypt, and Kenya. The Department of State also desires that King cooperate in producing an article for an unknown magazine to be distributed in Africa entitled "A Day With King."

This information is also being furnished to other interested governmental agencies.

Sincerely yours,

100-442529

1 - 100-106670 (King)

TPR:jad:fhd  
(11)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

SECRET  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

REC 61

X-103

NOV 24 1964

*[Handwritten signature]*

440

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

NOV 30 1964

Honorable Bill D. Moyers

NOTE:

By letter dated 11/13/64 the Department of State was furnished copies of reports concerning King as well as a letterhead memorandum relating to his extramarital relations and moral degeneracy. This was furnished as a result of a name check request by the Department of State. Information concerning this name check request is contained in memorandum F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan, dated 11/12/64, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter - Communist."

This information was made available by ~~AT 1388-S\*~~ and is contained in Atlanta teletype 11/19/64.

This letter is classified "Secret" as it contains information from ~~AT 1388-S\*~~, a highly placed source furnishing information regarding racial matters and communist influence in racial matters on the highest level. The unauthorized disclosure of which would be harmful to the national defense.

This information is also being furnished to the Department, the Department of State and other interested governmental agencies by separate communication .



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
November 20, 1964

SECRET

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
IS - C

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM - C

~~A confidential source stated on November 19, 1964, that a Mr. ASKEY (Phonetic), U. S. Information Agency, indicated on that date that all bills for MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.'s group traveling to Oslo, Norway, (for the purpose of KING accepting Nobel Peace Prize) will be paid by the U. S. Department of State. As a possible condition for paying the bills, the State Department desires to have KING visit Cairo, Egypt, and Kenya, Africa, for the State Department. ASKEY indicated that the State Department also WANTS KING to cooperate in producing an article for an UNKNOWN magazine to be distributed in Africa. The article is to be titled "A Day with King."~~

~~This source also advised on November 19, 1964, that KING was told that ASKEY said CARL ROWAN and another unidentified individual of the State Department would handle matters concerning KING's trip.~~

~~KING advised his secretary, DORA McDONALD, not to make any commitments before determining if he would be obligated to the State Department if they pay his expenses.~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure

Subject to Criminal Sanctions

SECRET

GROUP I

EXCLUDED FROM  
AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING  
AND DECLASSIFICATION

ENCLOSURE

100-106615-

100-442529-460





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
November 20, 1964

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Title     | COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS   |
| Character | IS - C  |
| Title     | MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.   |
| Character | SM - C  |
| Reference | Letterhead memorandum dated<br>November 20, 1964, at Atlanta,<br>Georgia, captioned as above. |

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

*WPH*

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Evans
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

# DECODED COPY

AIRGRAM    CABLEGRAM    RADIO    TELETYPE

11:03 PM EST 11-19-64 URGENT LG  
 TO DIRECTOR (100-442529)  
 FROM ATLANTA (100-6670) 190218

CIRM. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SM - C.

*Security matter - Communist*  
*Baker*

ATLANTA 1383-S\*, RELIABLE IN PAST, SAID TODAY A MR. ASKEY (PHONETIC), U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY, INDICATED THAT ALL BILLS FOR KINGS GROUP TRAVELLING TO OSLO, NORWAY FOR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WILL BE PAID BY THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. AS A POSSIBLE CONDITION FOR PAYING, THEY DESIRE TO HAVE KING VISIT CAIRO AND KENYA FOR STATE. STATE ALSO WANTS KING TO COOPERATE IN PRODUCING AN ARTICLE FOR AN UNKNOWN MAGAZINE TO BE DISTRIBUTED IN AFRICA. ARTICLE TO BE TITLED "A DAY WITH KING." -LHM FOLLOWS.

RECEIVED: 11:53 PM CMM

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

*Get 46 WH 11/19/64  
 TPR*

100-106670  
 NOT RECORDED  
 172 NOV 25 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN

SECURE

ENCLOSURE

8 NOV 25 1964

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

DATE: 11/16/64

- J. Edgar Hoover, Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
  - 1 - Mr. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. Evans
  - 1 - Mr. Rosen
  - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
  - 1 - J. F. Bland
  - 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
  - 1 - G. H. Bartlett
  - 1 - S. F. Phillips

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

This is an informative memorandum to show further evidences of the influences in high places which Martin Luther King, Jr., and his associates are able to wield.

My memoranda (2) to you 11/10/64 advised of plans being made by King and his advisors for activities in connection with King's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, 12/10/64. Very prominent in these arrangements is Bayard Rustin, the former Young Communist League member who is also a convicted homosexual. King plans on being in London, England, 12/6-7/64 enroute to Oslo and desires a meeting with England's new Prime Minister Harold Wilson. In order to facilitate such a meeting, and for other reasons, Rustin planned to go to London 11/11/64 (Veteran's Day).

Through our highly confidential coverage of principals in this matter, we learned that there was a delay of one or two days in Rustin's obtaining a renewal of his passport thus delaying his departure for London from 11/11 to 11/12/64. Rustin claimed to an associate that he had gotten the White House and the National Democratic Committee to help expedite the renewal of his passport. He also claimed that Lee White also assisted. (Although White was not identified, the reference undoubtedly is to the White House aide by the same name who frequently serves as a liaison between the White House and Rustin and King.)

On 11/13/64 Liaison Agent O. H. Bartlett was confidentially furnished the following information by Robert Johnson, Chief Counsel, State Passport Office. When Rustin applied for passport renewal in New York City, it was not immediately given as the New York Passport Office desired first check with headquarters of the Passport Office in Washington, D. C. Pressure to approve and expedite the passport renewal was exerted on the Passport Office by the Office of the Secretary of State which had been contacted by Louis Martin of the Democratic National Committee. (We have also been aware for some time that Martin is a liaison between the current Administration and Rustin and King.)

100-106670

1 - 100-158790 (Bayard Rustin)

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

(13)

CONTINUED - OVER

11 NOV 23 1964

534

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Commission. It is limited to official proceedings by your Commission and is not to be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

60 NOV 24 1964

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
From F. J. Baumgardner  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

OBSERVATIONS:

We have already made appropriate dissemination to the White House, Secretary of State Rusk, the Acting Attorney General and other agencies information concerning King's intentions to meet the British Prime Minister and Rustin's trip to England on King's behalf. We have also alerted the British relative to the backgrounds of King and Rustin. While no further dissemination is indicated relative to the behind-the-scenes maneuvering and use of influence on behalf of Rustin, I thought you would be interested in this information.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information, no further action.

*Already Foreign intelligence agency*

*B* *JBS*

*✓*

*D* *Wicks* *Q*

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 11/12/64

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - J. F. Bland
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

The Bureau is in receipt of a name check request for security information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr., from the Office of Security, Department of State, dated 11/4/64. The reason for the request is indicated as "American Specialists Program, PL 402."

On 11/10/64 Liaison Agent O. H. Bartlett determined from W. E. Jessop, State Office of Security, the specific interest of State and the U. S. Information Agency are interested in approaching King to have him engage in a seven to ten day lecture tour in Western Europe after he receives the Nobel Peace Prize 12/10/64. King has not yet been approached pending State's receipt of the results of the name check request being made of the Bureau.

Our files, of course, contain considerable information concerning King's communist connections. All but one of our investigative reports have previously been furnished to State, the sole exception being the most recent report dated 5/26/64. It is believed that we should reply to State's request by furnishing the 5/26/64 report and referring State specifically to the prior reports given that Agency. It is also believed that we should alert State concerning King's immorality and for this purpose we have prepared a "Top Secret" memorandum containing pertinent information.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached letter to State be personally delivered by Liaison to G. Marvin Gentile (former Bureau SA), Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security, under cover of which State will be furnished a copy of the latest report on King and the ~~State~~ memorandum concerning King's immoral conduct.

100-106670

Enc. *1-13-64*

SFP:jad  
(10)

REC-46  
ST-106  
100-106670-529

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside of your office. It may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

53 NOV 19 1964

- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - Mohr
- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Rosen
- 1 - Evans

The Acting Attorney General

November 12, 1964

Director, FBI

- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Bland
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Phillips

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Enclosed is a memorandum dated November 12, 1964, which contains information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., concerning King's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway. These plans include a possible meeting between King and Prime Minister Harold Wilson of England to take place in London, England, December 6 or 7, 1964, and plans for honoring King in New York City upon his return from Norway.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, and other interested officials of the Government.

MAILED 11  
NOV 13 1964  
COMM-FBI

Enclosure

100-106670

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

SFP:pah  
(16)

*pah*

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18 NOV 16 1964

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

*Red*  
*had*

EX-102

*REC-21*

*100-106670*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ENCLOSURE

SECRET

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

FBI

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure

Subject to Criminal Sanctions

NOV 17 1964

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 100-442529

The Acting Attorney General

NOTE:

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, dated 11/10/64, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., SM - C," prepared by SFP:jad. Classified "Secret" as the enclosure is so classified and also because information contained in this transmittal letter is from highly sensitive sources. The disclosure of this information could reveal the source's identity and thus possibly be injurious to the national defense.

SECRET

- 2 -

- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - Mohr
- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Rosen

November 12, 1964

BY LIAISON

Honorable Dean Rusk  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rusk:

Enclosed is a memorandum dated November 12, 1964 which contains information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., concerning King's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway. These plans include a possible meeting between King and Prime Minister Harold Wilson of England to take place in London, England, December 6 or 7, 1964, and plans for honoring King in New York City upon his return from Norway.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, and other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

REC-56

100-106670-526

Enclosure

100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

SFP:pah  
(13)

*pah*

SECRET  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOV 23 1964

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure

Subject to Criminal Sanctions

NOV 17 4 06 PM '64

*J*

*Kepler*

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*267*

*E B I*

*W*

*g*  
*TS/B*  
*B*



SECRET

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE:

See memorandum Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, dated 11/10/64, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., SM - C," prepared by SFP:jad. Classified "Secret" as the enclosure is so classified and also because information contained in this transmittal letter is from highly sensitive sources. The disclosure of this information could reveal the source's identity and thus possibly be injurious to the national defense.

SECRET

- 2 -

- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - Mohr
- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Rosen

November 12, 1964

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Evans
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Bland
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Phillips

REC'D-READING ROOM

NOV 17 4 06 PM '64

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

Enclosed is a memorandum dated November 12, 1964, which contains information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., concerning King's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway. These plans include a possible meeting between King and Prime Minister Harold Wilson of England to take place in London, England, December 6 or 7, 1964, and plans for honoring King in New York City upon his return from Norway.

This information is also being furnished to other interested officials of the Government.

Sincerely yours,

REC- 56

100-106670-527

NOV 16 1964

XEROX

NOV 16 1964

Enclosure

100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

EX-101

✓ - [signature]

Delivered 11/15/64

**NOTE:** See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, dated 11/10/64, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., SM - C," prepared by SFP:jad. Classified "Secret" as the enclosure is so classified and also because information contained in this transmittal letter is from highly sensitive sources. The disclosure of this information could reveal the source's identity and thus possibly be injurious to the national defense.

Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SFP:pah (12)

NOV 20 1964

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

SECRET

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - J. F. Bland 1-Liaison
- 1 - F. J. Baumgardner
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

November 12, 1964

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Confidential sources of this Bureau who have furnished reliable information in the past have supplied the following information concerning plans being made by Martin Luther King, Jr., and his associates concerning King's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize which is to take place December 10, 1964, at Oslo, Norway.

NOV 17 4 06 PM '64  
 RECEIVING ROOM

On November 3, 1964, Bayard Rustin contacted the secretary of Dr. Ralph Bunche, Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs, United Nations (UN). Rustin stated that he was speaking on behalf of Martin Luther King, Jr., and requested to see Bunche regarding the receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize by King.

Subsequently on November 3, 1964, Rustin conferred with Bunche and told him that upon King's return to New York City, after receiving the Nobel Prize, there is to be a welcoming affair at either a large dinner at a hotel or an activity at Carnegie Hall. Rustin told Bunche that King wanted to know whether Bunche would be prepared to be chairman of the welcoming committee which will include civil rights leaders and "a number of key liberals." Bunche said that he would be glad to be chairman, but that he would have to be informed as to the others who will be on the committee since there are some people with whom he will not work. Bunche told Rustin that he had sent a letter to King advising King that the Secretary General of the UN was hoping that King would visit the UN upon his return. Rustin told Bunche that he would personally meet with Bunche later and go over the details relative to King visiting the UN. Rustin also told Bunche that an invitation had been extended by the President of Brazil to have King visit Brazil on his way back to the United States. Rustin stated that he felt that this was not wise due to certain aspects of the regime in power in Brazil and inquired as to what Bunche's thoughts were on this matter. Bunche agreed that it was not a very good idea for King to visit Brazil at this time.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SFP:jad  
(16) *jad*

SECRET  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-106670

1 - 100-442529

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE - 521

SEE NOTE  
PAGE FIVE.

**SECRET**

**RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**

On November 3, 1964, Rustin was in contact with Harry Wachtel concerning King's return to the United States from Norway. Rustin stated that King is considering making a speech at Carnegie Hall and selling tickets for the affair, the minimum price to be \$100. Wachtel said that King has inquired about the possibility that President Lyndon B. Johnson might attend such an affair, but that the President would not give an answer until after the election. According to Wachtel, Lee White, a White House aide, has stated relative to the President's attendance "the answer is not no." White has indicated that if the President could not attend, the President would send the Vice President in his place. Rustin indicated that a cocktail party would be held before the Carnegie Hall address by King.

Rustin and Wachtel then discussed who might assist in the arrangements. Wachtel stated that Saul Mills had handled the arrangements for a concert for "us" and had made \$45,000 for "us." According to Wachtel, Mills is interested in the King affair and has submitted a memorandum of ideas on the subject. Rustin and Wachtel agreed to meet with Mills to discuss the matter. Wachtel stated that he would send Rustin a copy of the memorandum by Mills and in reference thereto Wachtel said that he thought the plans in the memorandum were too ambitious for they included an address by King before Congress and a ticker tape parade.

Wachtel told Rustin that he is handling the details concerning King's trip to Norway and has spoken to the Norwegian Ambassador.

Rustin then informed Wachtel that King desires to have Dr. Bunche and some white person to act as cochairmen of the affair welcoming King back to the United States, but that Bunche will not accept until he knows who the white person will be. Rustin indicated that he had considered having Senators Robert Kennedy and Jacob Javits as cochairmen so that there would be a nonpartisan element present. Rustin stated that after due consideration he thought it would probably be best to just have Bunche as chairman and have a subcommittee assisting him. Wachtel agreed with this idea. Rustin also informed Wachtel that King had been invited by the President of Brazil to visit that country, but that King

**RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**

should tell the Brazilian President that while he would like to visit that country, he will be unable to do so on his return trip from Norway and would be unable to visit Brazil until after the beginning of the new year.

On November 7, 1964, Wachtel contacted Rustin concerning the plans for welcoming King back to the United States and Wachtel stated that he had spoken to the White House and "the Kennedy front" regarding this matter. Wachtel said that he has Louis Martin of the Democratic National Committee "lined up." It is Wachtel's belief that President Johnson will come to New York City. Wachtel stated that he is waiting to hear from Senator Robert Kennedy in this matter as well.

Wachtel instructed Rustin to speak with Dr. Bunche and tell him that if the UN gave a luncheon for King, it would be better if held after King's return to the United States, but that the final decision is being left to the UN people. Wachtel suggested that if the UN affair was held before King's departure for Norway, December 4, 1964, would be a good date because it is just after the opening of the General Assembly at the UN and there will be many prominent people there. Wachtel noted the possibility of Leonid I. Brezhnev, First Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, being at the UN. Wachtel asked "Can you imagine Brezhnev embracing Martin like Khrushchev did Castro?" Rustin replied in the affirmative.

Wachtel stated that no plans will be made for a ticker tape parade for King until an answer is received from President Johnson. According to Wachtel, Louis Martin of the Democratic National Committee should be given something to do "even if it is just selling tickets." Rustin mentioned the possible use of an armory and stated it would be necessary to contact Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York who is vacationing in Spain. Wachtel indicated that this could be done later by telephone since there will be additional ideas for the Governor's participation. Summarizing, Wachtel mentioned that Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City could have the ticker tape parade; U Thant, Secretary General, UN, could have the dinner for King; and Governor Rockefeller could have the reception for King.

**SECRET**

**RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**

On November 7, 1964, Rustin was in contact with King and mentioned that he is beginning the draft of the major speech which King is to deliver and that King can complete it. On November 7, 1964, Rustin also contacted Peggy Duff, a resident of London, England, who is Executive Director of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Rustin told her that King will be in London on December 6 and 7, 1964, and that Rustin wanted to know if Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of England, would be prepared to receive King. Duff indicated that she would check into this. Rustin said that it should not appear as though this was King's idea and that it was preferred that Wilson announce that he is inviting King to visit him. Rustin inquired of Duff as to whether there is a group of "peace-minded people" in London who would work to raise money for "our work in Mississippi." Duff replied in the affirmative and Rustin explained that the reason for raising funds is that "we" are some \$2,000,000 "in the hole on the Mississippi business" and that there are about 17 churches which have to be rebuilt. Rustin suggested that arrangements might be made to have the London Embassy of some African nation have a reception for King while he is there.

On November 9, 1964, Rustin told an associate that he was departing for London on November 11, 1964, for the purpose of clarifying a confusion which has developed surrounding King's trip to Europe in December, 1964. The confusion arises from the fact that the Archbishop of Canterbury desires to receive King, but has been opposed by certain elements since King is a Baptist. Rustin also indicated that while in London he is going to determine whether or not King will be able to meet with Prime Minister Wilson.

Bayard Rustin is a frequent advisor to King and is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Harry Wachtel, also a frequent advisor to King, is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, a fund-raising adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Conference is headed by King. On March 5, 1944, a source of this Bureau advised

- 4 -

**SECRET**

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

that Wachtel's name was on a list of names, significance not known, maintained at the headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party, New York. The same source also advised on March 5, 1944, that the name of Wachtel's wife, Leonora, was maintained on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party, New York.

Saul Mills was a member of the Communist Party, USA during the period 1938 to 1947.

NOTE:

*Jaw*  
Classified "Secret" as much of the information is from NY 4212-S\*, a highly sensitive source, relating to the racial situation. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could endanger the source's security and possibly do injury to the defense interests of the nation.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1964

TELETYPE

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| Mr. Tolson   | ✓ |
| Mr. Belmont  | ✓ |
| Mr. Mohr     |   |
| Mr. DeLoach  |   |
| Mr. Casper   |   |
| Mr. Callahan |   |
| Mr. Conrad   |   |
| Mr. Felt     |   |
| Mr. Gale     |   |
| Mr. Rosen    |   |
| Mr. Sullivan |   |
| Mr. Tavel    |   |
| Mr. Trotter  |   |
| Tele. Room   |   |
| Miss Holmes  |   |
| Miss Gandy   |   |

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

FBI NEW YORK

1043 AM URGENT 11-10-64 JAM

TO DIRECTOR /2/ /100-442529/ - ENCODED  
FROM NEW YORK /100-153735/ 1P

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

CI M., INTERNAL SECURITY-C.

ON NIGHT OF NOVEMBER NINE, SIXTYFOUR, NY FOUR TWO ONE  
TWO-S ASTERISK ADVISED BAYARD RUSTIN IN CONTACT WITH ANDREW  
YOUNG /EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SCLC/, CONCERNING A TRIP BY  
RUSTIN TO LONDON, ENGLAND, ON NOVEMBER ELEVEN, SIXTYFOUR, TO  
CLARIFY CONFUSION SURROUNDING MARTIN LUTHER KING-S TRIP TO EUROPE  
IN DECEMBER, SIXTYFOUR. THE CONFUSION, RUSTIN SAID, WAS OVER  
FACT ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY /CHURCH OF ENGLAND/, DESIRED TO  
RECEIVE KING BUT WAS OPPOSED BY CERTAIN ELEMENTS SINCE KING  
WAS A BAPTIST. RUSTIN SAID HE WOULD ALSO DETERMINE IF  
KING COULD MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER WILSON WHILE IN LONDON.

*Handwritten notes and signatures on right margin*

LHM FOLLOWS.

END  
RPP FBI  
WASH DC

*memo comment*

*Memorandum to Sullivan  
11/10/64  
Call to W.H. Rouse  
Start meeting  
REC-111  
London 11/10/64  
SFP/ogp/66-20000-38*

MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

NOV 12 1964

4 NOV 12 1964

*Memorandum to Sullivan  
11/10/64  
Info to W.H. Rouse  
SFP/ogp*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your committee. Its release to official proceedings by your Committee and its content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

DATE: 11/10/64

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - S. F. Phillips

Tolson

Belmont

Mohr

DeLoach

Casper

Callahan

Conrad

Evans

Gale

Rosen

Sullivan

Tavel

Trotter

Tele. Room

Holmes

Gandy

We are recommending dissemination to the White House, Secretary of State Rusk and the Acting Attorney General, information concerning plans which are under way by Martin Luther King, Jr., and his associates (men with communist backgrounds such as Bayard Rustin) for welcoming-back festivities when King returns to the U. S. from Norway where he is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize 12/10/64.

We have received information from our reliable sensitive sources in New York City regarding recent contacts between King, Rustin, Ralph Bunche of the United Nations (UN) and Harry Wachtel, the latter being another King advisor with a communist background. Such activities are in the planning stage as a fund-raising speech by King at Carnegie Hall; King being received at the UN with the possibility that others present at the UN will include Leonid I. Brezhnev, First Secretary, Communist Party Soviet Union, and Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana; and a possible ticker tape parade. Bunche is being considered as possible chairman of the committee honoring King and contact has already been made with White House aide Lee White to have President Johnson present in New York City although no commitment has yet been made by the White House. Efforts also being made to have King see English Prime Minister Harold Wilson in London and to have an affair in London honoring King which will raise funds for King's work in Mississippi.

Concerning King's possibly meeting Wilson in London, Rustin is scheduled to go to London 11/11/64 to work on this matter.\* A separate memorandum from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan was prepared today (11/10/64) concerning the Wilson matter and recommending alerting the British to King's intentions and background.

\* NY-4212-S\* advised Rustin did not depart for London 11/11/64, but has space on 8:30 p.m. flight 11/12/64

100-106670

1 - 100-442529

Enc. *4-13-64* CONTINUED - OVER

SFP:jad

21 NOV 17 1964

70 NOV 20 1964

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and its content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum to W. C. Sullivan  
From F. J. Baumgardner  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached for approval are letters to the Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, The White House; Secretary of State Dean Rusk; and the Acting Attorney General, copies to other Department officials. These letters transmit a memorandum containing a summary of pertinent information in this matter. Copies of the letterhead memoranda from which this information was obtained are being separately disseminated to CIA, the military intelligence agencies, and Secret Service.

*Q* *MS*  
*W.C.S.* *Q* *V* *A*

F B I

Date: 11/10/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM  
IS-C

Re New York teletypes dated 11/9-10/64.

Enclosed are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum, captioned and dated as above.

The source who furnished the information in the letterhead memorandum was NY 4212-S\*, a source close to BAYARD RUSTIN.

*TESUP*

Here follows a list of names of individuals who have been characterized in the letterhead memorandum:

- 6 - Bureau (100-442529) (Encls. 3) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - 100-158790) (BAYARD RUSTIN)
  - (1 - 100-437828) (HARRY WACHTEL)
- 2 - Atlanta (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
  - (1 - 100-6670) (CIRM)
- 3 - Jackson (Encls. 3) (Info) (RM)
  - (1 - 100- ) (COFO)
- 1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-19131) (SAUL MILLS)
- 1 - New York (100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
- 1 - New York (157-1167) (COFO) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (42)

*Baumgardner*  
*Phillips*

*Hank*  
*Flynn*  
*Frank*  
*Felt*

*Setback*  
*11/16/64*  
*STP/jad*

*H*

UNLESS COPY AND COPY OF ENCL.

JMK:gmd  
(19)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

REC-24  
NOV 10 1964

NOV 11 1964

NY 100-153735

BAYARD RUSTIN

NY 2359-S\*; NY 4212-S\*

*TESUR*

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

BA 975-S\*

*TESUR*

HARRY WACHTEL

1. Anonymous source of WFO, set out in the report of SA JOHN J. WALSH, 7/19/50, at WFO, re: "NLG; IS-C".

2. NY 1190-S\*

*TESUR*

CLARENCE JONES

ALBERT BROWN, Chairman, Columbia University LYL, 1954.

*CONF. SOURCE*

SAUL MILLS

1. LOUIS P. BUDENZ *CONF. SOURCE*
2. BELLA V. DODD *CONF. SOURCE*
3. Former NY 751-S *INFORMANT*

This letterhead memorandum has been classified "Secret" because it contains information from NY 4212-S\*, a source who has furnished highly sensitive information with respect to the racial situation in the New York area and the Communist infiltration thereof. In view of this, it is deemed necessary that this classification be utilized.

*TESUR*



SECRET  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
November 10, 1964

Bureau 100-442529

Re: Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

On November 7, 1964, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information that Harry Wachtel contacted Bayard Rustin on that date. Wachtel mentioned that he arranged with the approval of Martin Luther King, Jr., (President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) (SCLC), for the man who ran the affair for Eleanor Roosevelt to run this affair (the affair at which Martin Luther King, Jr., will be honored upon his return from receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, in December, 1964). Wachtel also mentioned that King was quite pleased in getting Nisselson (phonetic) to handle this matter. Continuing, Wachtel remarked that this man (Nisselson) will be in charge but will be assisted by Saul Mills. Wachtel made the comment that it will be worth it to have a professional in charge. Wachtel stated that he had contacted the White House and "the Kennedy front" on this. Wachtel suggested that he and Rustin meet with Saul Mills in order to discuss the matter.

Wachtel stated that he has Louis Martin (of the Democratic National Committee) "lined up", and believes the President will come, and Wachtel stated that he is still waiting to hear from Kennedy (Senator-elect Robert Kennedy of New York) on whether he plans to attend the affair.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET  
Group I  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

100-442529-411  
~~100-106670~~

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

SECRET

Communist Influence In Racial Matters

Wachtel instructed Rustin to speak with Ralph Bunche (of the United Nations) and tell him that the United Nations luncheon for King would be better after King returns, but he told Rustin to leave the final decision to them. Wachtel said that December 4th would be better than the 17th because it is just after the opening of the General Assembly and that there will be more prominent people there. Wachtel suggested the possibility that Nkrumah (of Ghana) and Brezhnev will be there and that it might become a "real head of state deal". Wachtel asked, "Can you imagine Brezhnev embracing Martin like Khrushchev did Castro?" Rustin replied in the affirmative.

Rustin remarked that it might be necessary for him to make several calls to London, and he inquired of Wachtel how to pay for them. Wachtel stated that they should have an SCLC credit card for such things. Wachtel stated that he does not mind working for the SCLC "on the cuff but that the out of pocket expenses are killing" him. Wachtel instructed Rustin to speak with King or Andy (Andy Young, an assistant of Martin Luther King, Jr.) about it.

Rustin inquired about going to Oslo (with King), and Wachtel suggested Rustin do as he had done. Wachtel stated that he told King that he has "my resignation in your pocket" as far as going is concerned, and Wachtel further stated he would not feel bad if King thought his (Wachtel's) presence might cause King some embarrassment and cause King to accept the resignation. Wachtel said he told King that King and Bunche could go on one plane and the rest of the party could travel on a different plane. Wachtel also mentioned if volunteers (to go on the trip) are wanted Cleve (Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations) (AFL-CIO) and Clarence (Clarence Jones) want to go.

Wachtel stated that Saul Mills and Nisselson will have suggestions and proposals which will be submitted for "our" approval. Wachtel stated that no plans will be made for a ticker tape parade (for King) until the answer is received from the President. According to Wachtel, Louis Martin should be given something to do even if it is just selling tickets.

SECRET

SECRET

Communist Influence In Racial Matters

Rustin made mention of using an armory (in New York City in connection with King's return), and he stated that it would be necessary to contact the Governor (Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York) who is vacating in Spain. Wachtel indicated that this could be done later since there will be more ideas for the Governor's participation. Wachtel mentioned that the Mayor (Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City) will have the ticker tape parade, U. Thant (Secretary-General of the United Nations) can have the dinner, and the Governor can have the reception for King.

Rustin contacted Cleveland Robinson on November 7, 1964, and mentioned that Wachtel had gotten Saul Mills to help out with the affair (for King). Robinson stated that he did not remember Mills except from the "old progressive days" and that was all he knew about him. Rustin stated that was the same person, and Rustin suggested that he (Mills) could do some of the leg work but "they" do not want him out in front. Rustin made it known that they were not certain about the President's attendance at the affair, and both agreed that the success of the affair depends on the President's attendance.

Bayard Rustin contacted Martin Luther King, Jr., on November 7, 1964, and Rustin brought up the question of whom King will have with him on the trip (to Oslo). Rustin suggested that King and two or three others go on the plane and the rest of the group follow. King agreed and stated he felt six could go with him and this would be a reasonable group. Rustin stated it was necessary to send a cable to Governor Rockefeller in Madrid, Spain, in order to obtain permission to use the armory for the meeting; King gave permission to do this. Rustin mentioned he is beginning the draft of the major speech which King will deliver and King can finish it.

The source advised that on November 7, 1964, Rustin was in contact with Peggy Duff of London, England, Executive Director of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. He informed her that Martin Luther King would be in London,

SECRET

- 3 -

**SECRET**

**Communist Influence In Racial Matters**

on December 6 and 7, 1964, and inquired of Duff as to whether Prime Minister Wilson would be prepared to receive King on either of these dates. Duff said she would check into that. Rustin said it should not appear as though it was King's idea, and said it was preferred that Prime Minister Wilson announce he was inviting King to visit him.

Rustin inquired if there was a group of peace minded people in London who would work to raise money for "our" work in Mississippi, to which she replied in the affirmative. He explained that the reason for the fund raising was that "we" are some two million dollars in the hole in Mississippi business and there are about seventeen churches which have to be rebuilt.

In conclusion, Rustin suggested that Duff might make arrangements to have the London Embassy of some African Nation have a reception for King while he is in London.

The same confidential source advised on November 9, 1964, that Bayard Rustin and Andrew Young (Executive Director of the SCLC) were in conference during the night of that date. Their contact, the source said, was in regard to Rustin making a trip to London on Wednesday, November 11, 1964, for the purpose of clarifying some confusion existing over the fact that the Archbishop of Canterbury desired to meet with King but due to King's affiliation with the Baptist Church, there was opposition to his receiving King.

Furthermore, Rustin said his trip would also be for the purpose of ascertaining if King could meet with Prime Minister Wilson while in London.

Rustin told Young that he would secure his airline ticket for the trip on Wednesday and would charge it to the SCLC account.

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COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Mr. Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, N.Y. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, Kings Point, Long Island, N.Y.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information in December, 1949, that Harry H. Wachtel, 41 Broad Street, New York, N.Y., was on a list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

On March 5, 1944, another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which revealed that the name Harry Wachtel was on a list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party at 26 Court St., Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding Harry Wachtel's wife, Leonora, it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed that her name and address were on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party.

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Communist Influence In Racial Matters

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1 column 2, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, Benjamin J. Davis remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly."

Another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that Bayard Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis on those dates

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- 6 -

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### Communist Influence In Racial Matters

and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, Davis told Rustin that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which Rustin was to speak.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, Benjamin J. Davis was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

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SECRET

## Communist Influence In Racial Matters

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in May, 1950, that Saul Mills was one of those persons whom he knew to be a concealed Communist.

On June 29, 1950, the same confidential source advised that during the 1940's up until 1945, he knew Saul Mills personally as a member of the Communist Party (CP).

On May 28, 1956, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that she knew Saul Mills as a member of the CP all through the period 1938-1947. The source stated that Mills had been one of the most important persons in the CP and could be considered on the level with William Z. Foster (who was Chairman of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) during this period). The source further advised that she attended literally hundreds of meetings of the CP, at which Saul Mills was present, as well as hundreds of Trade Union meetings run by the CP. In respect to Saul Mills' knowledge of the CP nature of these meetings, the source stated that there is no question but that Mills was cognizant at the time they were official meetings of the CP. The source stated that she observed Saul Mills in 1944, at a meeting called by the National Committee of the CP, and observed him at a meeting of top functionaries of the CP, held following the 1944 convention, at which time Mills delivered a speech.

On May 25, 1956, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that in the late 1930's and

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### Communist Influence In Racial Matters

early 1940's, Saul Mills was looked upon by the CP as being a highly trustworthy person and one whose word could be accepted and acted upon with respect to action the CP might take in regard to discipline cases involving individuals known to Mills.

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- 9 -

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COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, N.Y.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 26, 1957, that he identified a photograph of Clarence Jones as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League.

The Labor Youth League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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- 10 -

**SECRET**1.APPENDIXNATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.  
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'  
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the \* \* \* National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'  
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

**SECRET**


## Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

11-9-64

Date

The attached concerns plans for King's trip to receive Nobel Peace Prize and affair to honor him on his return to United States. Dissemination being made to State, Central Intelligence Agency, Department, military intelligence agencies and Secret Service. We are disseminating to the White House, Attorney RCD General and Secretary of State Rusk.



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cc: [unclear]

[Handwritten notes and signatures in a box]

SENT BY CIPHER TELETYPE

REC 58

FBI NEW YORK

9-15 PM URGENT 11-9-64 DAE

TO DIRECTOR -7- 100-442529 AND ATLANTA

ATLANTA VIA WASHINGTON - ENCODED

FROM NEW YORK 100-15735

CIRM Communist Influence in Legal Matters

*Isur*

[Handwritten signatures]

ON NOV. SEVEN, SIXTY FOUR, ~~NY FOUR TWO ONE TWO-S ASTERISK~~

FURNISHED INFO HARRY WACHTEL CONTACTED BAYARD RUSTIN ON THAT DATE. WACHTEL STATED HE MADE ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE APPROVAL OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., TO HAVE THE MAN, NISSELSON /TH/ <sup>U.S.?</sup> WHO CAN THE AFFAIR FOR ELEANOR ROOSEVELT RUN THE AFFAIR /THE AFFAIR TO WELCOME HOME KING AFTER KING RECEIVES NOBEL PEACE PRIZE IN OSLO, NORWAY/. WACHTEL INDICATED THIS MAN WOULD BE IN CHARGE BUT WOULD BE ASSISTED BY SAUL MILLS. WACHTEL SUGGESTED THAT HE AND RUSTIN MEET WITH MILLS TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS. WACHTEL STATED HE HAD SPOKEN TO THE WHITE HOUSE AND "THE KENNEDY FRONT" RE THIS MATTER. WACHTEL REMARKED THAT HE HAS LOUIS MARTIN /OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE/ "LINED UP" AND THAT HE BELIEVES THE PRESIDENT WILL COME, AND WACHTEL STATED HE IS WAITING TO HEAR FROM SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY.

END PAGE ONE

100-442529-389

NOV 13 1964

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PAGE TWO.....

WACHTEL INSTRUCTED RUSTIN TO SPEAK WITH RALPH BUNCHE /OF THE UNITED NATIONS/ AND TELL HIM THAT THE UNITED NATIONS LUNCHEON FOR KING WOULD BE BETTER AFTER KING RETURNS, BUT TO LEAVE THE FINAL DECISION TO THEM. WACHTEL SUGGESTED DECEMBER FOUR, WOULD BE BETTER THAN DECEMBER SEVENTEEN, BECAUSE IT IS JUST AFTER THE OPENING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THERE WILL <sup>BE</sup> MORE PROMINENT PEOPLE THERE. CONTINUING, WACHTEL SAID THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS NKRUMAH AND BREZHNEV WILL BE THERE TO CREATE A "REAL HEAD OF STATE DEAL". WACHTEL ASKED, "CAN YOU IMAGINE BREZHNEV EMBRACING MARTIN LIKE KHRUSHCHEV DID CASTRO". RUSTIN REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE.

RUSTIN ASKED WACHTEL ABOUT GOING TO OSLO, AND WACHTEL SUGGESTED RUSTIN DO AS HE HAD DONE. WACHTEL STATED HE TOLD KING THAT HE HAS "MY RESIGNATION IN YOUR POCKET" AS FAR AS GOING IS CONCERNED, AND WACHTEL FURTHER STATED HE WOULD NOT FEEL BAD IF KING THOUGHT HIS WACHTEL'S PRESENCE MIGHT CAUSE KING SOME EMBARRASSMENT AND CAUSE KING TO ACCEPT THE RESIGNATION. WACHTEL SAID HE TOLD KING THAT KING AND BUNCHE COULD GO ON ONE PLANE AND THE REST OF THE PARTY WOULD TRAVEL ON A DIFFERENT PLANE. WACHTEL MENTIONED IF VOLUNTEERS ARE WANTED CLEVELAND ROBINSON AND CLARENCE /CLARENCE JONES/ WANT TO GO.

END PAGE TWO.....

CURR 26 INSE-TAFIER WORD 4 "E"

O-83 THREE.....

WACHTEL STATED NO PLANS WILL BE MADE FOR A TICKER TAPE PARADE /FOR KING/ UNTIL THE ANSWER IS RECEIVED FROM THE PRESIDENT. ACCORDING TO WACHTEL, LOUIS MARTIN SHOULD BE GIVEN SOMETHING TO DO ON IT EVEN IF IT IS JUST SELLING TICKETS.

RUSTIN MADE MENTION OF USING AN ARMORY /IN CONNECTION WITH KING-S RETURN/, AND HE STATED IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONTACT THE GOVERNOR /GOVERNOR NELSON ROCKEFELLER OF NEW YORK/ WHO IS VACATIONING IN SPAIN. WACHTEL INDICATED THAT COULD BE DONE LATER BY TELEPHONE SINCE THERE WILL BE MORE IDEAS FOR THE GOVERNOR-S

PARTICIPATION. WACHTEL MENTIONED THE MAYOR /ROBERT WAGNER/ WILL HAVE THE TICKER TAPE PARADE, DR. THANT CAN HAVE THE DINNER, AND THE GOVERNOR CAN HAVE THE RECEPTION FOR KING.

BAYARD RUSTIN CONTACTED MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., ON NOV. SEVEN, SIXTY FOUR. RUSTIN BROUGHT UP THE QUESTION OF WHOM KING WILL HAVE WITH HIM ON THE TRIP /TO GLO/. RUSTIN SUGGESTED THAT KING AND TWO OR THREE OTHERS GO ON THE PLANE AND THE REST OF THE GROUP FOLLOW. KING AGREED AND STATED HE FELT SX COULD GO WITH HIM AND THIS WOULD BE A REASONABLE GROUP. RUSTIN STATED IT WAS NECESSARY TO SEND A CABLE TO GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER IN MADRID, SPAIN, IN ORDER TO OBTAIN PERMISSION TO USE THE ARMORY FOR THE MEETING. KING GAVE PERMISSION TO DO THIS. RUSTIN MENTIONED HE IS BEGINNING THE DRAFT OF THE MAJOR SPEECH WHICH KING WILL DELIVER, AND KING CAN FINISH IT.

END PAGE THREE.....

~~CORD 1-15 DT3 WXXKX TWO 1-17 W6 SIX AND 1-17 W12 THIS~~

PAGE FOUR.....

RUSTIN CONTACTED PEGGY DUFF WHO RESIDES IN LONDON, ENGLAND, AND IS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. RUSTIN TOLD HER THAT KING WILL BE IN LONDON ON DECEMBER SIX, AND SEVEN. RUSTIN WANTED TO KNOW IF PRIME MINISTER HAROLD WILSON WOULD BE PREPARED TO RECEIVE KING ON THE SIXTH OR SEVENTH. SHE INDICATED THAT SHE WOULD CHECK INTO THIS. RUSTIN SAID IT SHOULD NOT APPEAR AS THOUGH THIS WAS KING'S IDEA, AND HE STATED IT WAS PREFERRED WILSON ANNOUNCE HE IS INVITING KING TO VISIT HIM.

RUSTIN INQUIRED IF THERE IS A GROUP OF PEACE MINDED PEOPLE IN LONDON WHO WOULD WORK TO RAISE MONEY FOR "OUR" WORK IN MISSISSIPPI, TO WHICH SHE REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE REASON FOR THE FUND RAISING IS THAT "WE" ARE SOME TWO MILLION DOLLARS IN THE HOLE ON THE MISSISSIPPI BUSINESS AND THAT THERE ARE ABOUT SEVENTEEN CHURCHES WHICH HAVE TO BE REBUILT. RUSTIN SUGGESTED THAT ARRANGEMENTS MIGHT BE MADE TO HAVE THE LONDON EMBASSY OF SOME AFRICAN NATION HAVE A RECEPTION FOR KING WHILE HE IS THERE.

END FOLLOWS.....

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 1/30/64

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*B. Baumgardner*  
*R. Rowse*

Security Supervisor Henry Rowse of our Atlanta Office called at 4:05 p.m., 1/30/64, in order to furnish the following information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

Confidential source AT-1380-S\* advised that an unknown representative of the American Broadcasting Company talked to King at his office on the afternoon of 1/30/64 and asked King to comment as to what he thought about his being nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. According to the information received by our Atlanta Office, eight members of the Swedish Parliament recommended that Martin Luther King be considered as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Hal Suit, Assistant News Director of WSV-TV station in Atlanta, called Martin Luther King and talked to him about the possibility he may be selected as the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. He asked for King's comments. King said he thought the Prize should be given to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference organization instead of to King as an individual.

SA Rowse said that no further information concerning this matter was available. He said if further reports are received he will furnish them immediately to the Bureau.

ACTION:

We are following this matter closely for further details and will keep you advised of pertinent developments.

- 100-3-116
- 1 - 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth
- 1 - Mr. Gurley
- 1 - Mr. Phillips
- 1 - Mr. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

REC-118

*WCS*  
*Kelly, RC*  
100-3-116-809

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**Swedes Nominate Dr. King  
 For the Nobel Peace Prize**

STOCKHOLM, Jan. 30 (Reuters)—Eight Swedish members of Parliament today nominated the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. today as a candidate for the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, the Swedish news agency reported.

In a letter to the Norwegian Nobel Committee they said Dr. King, who has led American Negroes in their fight for equality since 1955, "had succeeded in keeping his followers to the principle of nonviolence."

"Without King's confirmed and effectiveness of this principle, demonstrations and marches could easily have become violent and ended with the spilling of blood," they wrote.

*Tolson*  
*Walters (last)*

*F. B. I.*

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
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### King Proposed For Peace Prize

OSLO, Norway, July 18 (AP). —The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King has been proposed for the 1964 Nobel peace prize, the Norwegian religious magazine "Vaar Kirke" (Our Church) says.

The Lutheran magazine said editorially in its current issue that "it would be difficult in today's situation to find a more deserving candidate."

A group of Swedish legislators reportedly proposed Dr. King for the prize, the magazine said. The winner is chosen by the Norwegian Parliament.

The magazine said Dr. King should be awarded the prize for his role in the non-violent struggle for racial integration in the United States. It described him as a leading factor in the struggle for adoption of the new United States civil rights bill.

*McGowan*  
*Angelo*  
*Wint*  
*H. E.*

- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
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- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
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- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
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*Bartholomew*  
*Phillips*  
*Boyer*  
*Boyer*  
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*Boyer*

UPI-126

(PEACE PRIZE)

OSLO--AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, IS THE HEAVY FAVORITE TO WIN THE 1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, QUALIFIED OBSERVERS SAID TODAY.

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE WORLD WAR II, THERE IS AGREEMENT AMONG ALMOST ALL OBSERVERS HERE ON ONE MAN--KING, LEADER OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE--TO WIN THE COVETED PRIZE.

A COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE NORWEGIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CHOOSES THE WINNER. ITS CHOICE IS EXPECTED TO BE ANNOUNCED LATER THIS MONTH. THE SELECTION IS MADE FROM A SECRET LIST OF 20 TO 30 NAMES.

KING'S CANDIDACY HAS BEEN SPONSORED BY LEADING POLITICIANS IN EUROPE AND THE U.S. AND SECONDED BY NEWSPAPERS OF ALL POLITICAL LEANINGS IN NORWAY.

A LEADING RECOMMENDATION CAME FROM EIGHT SWEDISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, REPRESENTING ALL THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES, CALLING FOR KING'S SELECTION.

OTHER NAMES ON THE LIST ARE BELIEVED TO INCLUDE SEN. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER LORD AVON (SIR ANTHONY EDEN), FRENCH PRESIDENT CHARLES DE GAULLE AND FORMER WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR KONRAD ADENAUER. NONE IS BELIEVED TO BE AMONG THE FRONT-RUNNERS.

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### Dr. King Leads For Nobel Prize

OSLO, Oct. 6 (UPI) — The Rev. Martin Luther King is the heavy favorite to win the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, qualified observers said today.

A committee appointed by the Norwegian National Assembly chooses the winner. The selection, from a secret list of 20 to 30 names, is expected to be announced later this month.

The civil rights leader's candidacy has been sponsored by leading European politicians and seconded by newspapers of all political leanings in Norway. Other names on the list are believed to include former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, French President de Gaulle and former West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, but none is believed to be among the front runners.

*S. Phillips*  
*J. [unclear]*

The Washington Post and Times Herald pg. A-1  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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*5-10-64*  
*7-10-64*

UPI-221

(KING)

ATLANTA--SELECTION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. FOR THE 1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE TODAY SPURRED TALK OF HOLDING AN INTEGRATED TESTIMONIAL DINNER FOR THE NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER.

ATLANTANS REACTED WITH EXCITEMENT TO THE AWARD, AND MAYOR IVAN ALLEN JR. SAID KING WAS "FULLY DESERVING OF THE HONOR AND I EXTEND THE CITY'S CONGRATULATIONS."

JESSE HILL JR., A YOUNG INSURANCE EXECUTIVE AND LONGTIME FRIEND OF KING'S, SAID HE HOPED BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE ATLANTANS WOULD "GET TOGETHER AND GIVE HIM A FITTING HONOR IN HIS OWN HOME TOWN."

HILL SAID HE HAD ALREADY DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY WITH A NUMBER OF CLERGYMEN AND HE HOPED THE HONOR WOULD INCLUDE A PROCLAMATION BY CITY OFFICIALS AND A TESTIMONIAL DINNER.

ALLEN SAID KING "HAS DISPLAYED REMARKABLE LEADERSHIP AT BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVEL TO THE 20 MILLION AMERICAN NEGRO CITIZENS AND HAS BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING FULL AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP TO THEM."

DR. HARRY RICHARDSON, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, SAID THE AWARD "IS A FITTING TRIBUTE TO A MAN WHO HAS PLAYED PERHAPS THE GREATEST PART IN PROMOTING HUMAN PEACE IN OUR TIME."

VICE MAYOR SAM MASSELL JR. SAID KING "HAS DONE MUCH FOR HIS PEOPLE AS WELL AS FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AT LARGE."

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UPI-48  
 (RELEASE AT 1:30 P.M. EDT)

(KING)  
 ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., "THOROUGHLY EXHAUSTED" AND IN NEED OF A COMPLETE PHYSICAL CHECKUP, WAS IN A HOSPITAL BED TODAY WHEN HE LEARNED THAT HE HAD WON THE 1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

MRS. KING, A FORMER CONCERT SINGER, SAID HER HUSBAND SAID "WELL, REALLY," WHEN SHE CALLED HIM TO TELL HIM OF THE HONOR. SHE SAID HE WAS ASLEEP WHEN SHE CALLED HIM AT ST. JOSEPH INFIRMARY IN ATLANTA. KING CHECKED INTO THE INFIRMARY YESTERDAY, SHE SAID, AND WAS "THOROUGHLY EXHAUSTED."

MRS. KING SAID HER HUSBAND COULD NOT QUITE BELIEVE HE HAD WON THE PRIZE.

"HOW DO YOU KNOW?" SHE SAID HE ASKED.

MRS. KING SAID HER HUSBAND WAS EXHAUSTED FROM A HEAVY SCHEDULE OF SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS, INCLUDING A TRIP TO EUROPE, AND FROM WORK HE PUT IN ON THE RECENT NATIONAL CONVENTION OF HIS SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE HELD AT SAVANNAH, GA.

"HE NEEDS A COMPLETE PHYSICAL CHECKUP," SHE SAID.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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UPI-239

(PRIZE-REACTION)

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.--THE BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD SAID IN ITS THURSDAY MORNING EDITIONS THAT DESPITE THE SELECTION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING FOR THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE "THE PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH KNOW THAT VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT FOLLOW IN HIS TRAIL."

IN AN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "MAN OF PEACE?" THE SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER SAID.

"THERE IS IRONY, DEEP IRONY FOR MUCH OF THE SOUTH IN THE SELECTION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING TO RECEIVE THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

"NO MATTER WHAT THEY THINK OF KING IN EUROPE, WHERE THE SELECTION WAS ANNOUNCED, THE PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH KNOW THAT VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT FOLLOW IN HIS TRAIL.

"PEOPLE OF BIRMINGHAM KNOW FROM 1963. PEOPLE OF ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., KNOW FROM 1964.

"DESPITE THE PROTESTATIONS OF 'NON-VIOLENCE' HE AND HIS ORGANIZATION ALWAYS SEEM TO LEAD TO VIOLENCE.

"DURING THE PRESENT PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST PEACE HAS REIGNED ON THE RACIAL FRONT. BUT AFTER NOVEMBER...?"

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*Follow up*  
*5. J. B.*

JPI-120

(KING)

ATLANTA--MR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SAID TODAY HIS RECEIPT OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE CAME AS "AN EXTREMELY MOVING MOMENT" IN HIS LIFE AND WOULD GIVE HIM COURAGE AND DETERMINATION IN CONTINUING THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE.

KING TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE ST. JOSEPH'S INFIRMARY, WHERE HE IS HOSPITALIZED FOR A PHYSICAL CHECKUP, THAT MOST OF THE \$54,600 THAT GOES WITH THE PRIZE WILL GO TO HELP FINANCE THE CIVIL RIGHTS "NON-VIOLENT" MOVEMENT.

HE SAID THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, HE FOUNDED, WOULD GET MOST OF THE MONEY.

KING SENT WORD EARLIER FROM HIS HOSPITAL ROOM THAT HE WAS "DEEPLY MOVED AND GRATIFIED AND HONORED" OVER BEING SELECTED FOR THE PRIZE.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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- Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



AP Wirephoto  
**MARTIN LUTHER KING**

## Negro Rights Leader Wins Nobel Prize

OSLO, Oct. 14—(AP)—The 1964 Nobel peace prize was awarded today to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Georgia-born Negro who became a civil rights crusader in the United States.

"Martin Luther King has consistently asserted the principle of nonviolence," the Oslo Nobel Institute said in its statement announcing the award.

King, son of an Atlanta Baptist minister and himself an ordained minister, provided his fellow Negroes with a powerful, new weapon molded and shaped from the teachings of India's Gandhi in the fight for Negro civil rights.

King's award, rumored for months, will amount to 273,000

See DR. KING, Page 6

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 5' J. J. Kilpatrick  
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Date: 10/14/64  
 Edition: Blue Streak  
 Author:  
 Editor: J. J. Kilpatrick  
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 Submitting Office: Richmond  
 Being Investigated

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34 OCT 23 1964

# Dr. King Wins Nobel Peace Prize

*Continued From First Page*

Swedish Kroner, (\$53,123) this year. The cash prize and the Nobel gold medal and diploma will be handed to King at ceremonies in Oslo December 10.

King was born in Atlanta, Ga. in 1929 and went to the Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. He took his doctor's degree in theology at Boston University and served later as a Baptist minister.

In 1955 he was chosen to lead the Negro boycott of the Montgomery, Ala., city buses. Since then he has served as a leader in the Negro fight for civil rights, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

## MAN OF THE YEAR

King was made "man of the year" by the American news magazine, Time, in 1963 and this year he was made an honorary doctor at Yale University and was awarded the John F. Kennedy prize by the Catholic Council for Co-operation Between the Races in Chicago.

He was the 12th American to be awarded the peace prize. In addition, the American Friends Service Committee got it once.

The prize was awarded by the Noble committee of the Norwegian Storting (parliament).

Chairman of the committee is Director Gunnar Jahn. Vice Chairman is Dean G. Natvig-Pedersen. Others are Socialist member of Parliament Mrs. Aase Wind Lionaes, Socialist president of the Storting Nils Langhelle, and conservative floor leader and governor of the province of Akershus, John Lyng.

The Swedish inventor of dynamite, Dr. Alfred Nobel, stated in his will in 1895 that his fortune should go to the establishment of prizes to be awarded in chemistry, physics, medicine and physiology, literature and for peace.

The peace prize is awarded by the Norwegian parliament. The other four prizes are awarded in Sweden.

King — the third Negro to be awarded the peace prize — will receive the award from Gunnar Jahn in a solemn ceremony in the University of Oslo on the anniversary of Nobel's death.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs, won the coveted prize in 1950. South African leader Albert Luthuli won the prize in 1960.

The Nobel committee, never announces who else has been proposed for the prize. Neither does it, at the time of announcing the award, give the full reasons for the choice. That will be done by Jahn when he holds the Nobel speech in December.

Nobel decided that the peace prize should be awarded to "the one, who has worked most or best for furthering the brotherhood between peoples and for abolishment or reduction of the standing armies, and for es-

establishment and furtherance of peace congresses."

The members of the five-man committee are elected by the Storting for six-year periods—three and then two of the members being elected every third year. Members of the cabinet cannot serve on the committee.

### King's Wife Elated At News of Prize

ATLANTA, Oct. 14—(AP)—"For something like this to happen makes it all worthwhile."

So said Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. today after she had heard that her husband had been awarded the 1964 Nobel peace prize.

King himself was in a hospital for a checkup.

"For many years we have had to contend with the other side," Mrs. King said. "For something like this to happen makes it all worthwhile. Yet we are still humble in receiving this. It will only serve for us to continue our efforts."

Mrs. King said she and her husband had known he was being considered but "we didn't feel really that he would get it. I actually didn't realize they would consider his efforts as being important enough."

Yet, she said, "we have felt very strongly that what we were doing was right."

### NONVIOLENT PROTEST

King is a man who has preached peace but protest.

Perhaps more than any other man he has been responsible for the massive, nonviolent protests against racial discrimination in America.

Yet through it all he has spoken time after time for non-violence, for peaceful demonstrations.

"Nonviolent protest is the most effective weapon of an oppressed people," he has said.

Many times he has kept crowds of Negro demonstrators from rioting simply by talking to them.

### CROWDS LISTEN

He has climbed on automobiles and told the crowds threatening to get out of control:

"No. No. We must remain nonviolent."

The crowds have listened, and then quietly gone on their way. Sometimes there was dissension, but always respect for King.

King took up his crusade at 26. His tactics filled the streets with Negro marchers in many cities. His idea was assailed bitterly by white segregationists and often questioned by moderates.

But among his greatest critics were those advocating black supremacy. Nevertheless, he wielded much influence over the bulk of the Negro people.

### BOMB ON PORCH

He started his civil rights crusade from the pulpit of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at Montgomery, Ala., in 1955. Negroes in Montgomery boycotted segregated city buses for 381 days, touching off bombings of their churches, street attacks by white men and mob violence. A bomb, which did not explode, was thrown on King's front porch.

A court ruling finally desegregated the buses.

King was not so fortunate in a Harlem department store in 1958. A Negro woman stabbed him with a fingernail file.

But King recovered and returned to his work. He returned to Atlanta in 1960 and created the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which he still heads.

King was jailed five times in connection with racial strife in Alabama before he returned to Atlanta.



(Mount Clipping in Spdce Below)

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# King Gets Nobel Prize

OSLO, Norway—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Negro civil rights leader, today won the Nobel Peace Prize for 1964.



(UPI Photo)  
MARTIN LUTHER KING

King was selected by the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian National Assembly from a field reported to include such figures as former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, French President Charles de Gaulle, Sir Anthony Eden and former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

The award carries a cash prize of \$54,600. King is the third Negro and the 12th American to get the coveted award. At the age of 35, the Atlanta, Ga., minister also is one of the youngest persons ever to become a Nobel peace laureate.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner is selected each year by a committee of the Norwegian Par-

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BOSTON GLOBE  
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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR  
Boston, Mass.

RECORD AMERICAN  
Boston, Mass.

Date: 10/14/64  
Edition: Five Star Final  
Author:  
Editor: Homer Jenks  
Title: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING  
Nobel Peace Prize  
Character: for 1964  
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Classification: 100-  
Submitting Office: Boston  
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OCT 23 1964

liament under terms of the will of the late dynamite magnate, Alfred Nobel.

The award committee never announces the reason for its awards.

Its terse communique today said only:

"The Nobel Committee of the Norwegian National Assembly has decided to award the peace prize for 1964 to Martin Luther King Jr., the sum of the prize is 283,000 Swedish Kroners (\$54,600)."

A short biography of King issued by the committee said: "One of King's characteristics is that he follows the principle of non-violence."

In his campaign for Negro civil rights, King has been arrested more than a dozen times and has been the target of three assassination attempts.

King said from a hospital bed in Atlanta, Ga.: "I am deeply moved and gratified and honored to be chosen for such a significant award."

United Nations Under Secretary Ralph Bunche, the first Negro to win the Nobel Peace Prize, hailed King's selection as "international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for equality . . ." Former U. S. Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy said the honor was "richly deserved."

Eugene (Bull) Connor, former police commissioner of Birmingham, Ala., said: "They're really scraping the bottom of the barrel when they pick him. He's caused more strife and trouble in this country than anyone I can think of."

King was first nominated for the award last January by eight members of Parliament in neighboring Sweden.

At the time, the Norwegian government newspaper Arbeidervakten said his selection "would give a handshake to all the liberal forces in the American democracy."

Originally, it was Nobel's idea that the peace prize should go to the person "who in the preceding year had done most for the convening of peace conferences and the reduction of standing armies."

This concept, however, has changed since the first peace prize was awarded in 1901. The prize now is usually given to the person or institution "which has done most for mankind and humanity in the preceding year."

The awards committee is elected by the Norwegian National Assembly, but is an independent body. It meets behind closed doors and there are no reports on its deliberations.

King was in a hospital bed in Atlanta today when he learned he had won the award. Mrs. King, a former concert singer, called her husband at the St. Joseph Infirmary, which he entered yesterday "thoroughly exhausted" from a heavy schedule of speaking engagements and a trip to Europe.

Mrs. King said he husband said, "Well, really," when she informed him he was the winner. She said he could not quite believe he had won, and asked her, "How do you know?"

The new Nobel Prize winner is head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. A student of Mohandas K. Gandhi's passive resistance movement in India, he concluded that the tactic of "non-violence" could be his most effective weapon against racial segregation in the United States.

He was chosen from a secret list of 20 to 30 names. The prize will be awarded personally by Norwegian King Olaf V at Oslo University Nov. 10.

The other Nobel prizes — in physics, chemistry, medicine, psychology, and literature — will be chosen by the Nobel Committee in Stockholm, Sweden. The medicine award will be announced tomorrow.

The first American to win the Nobel Peace Prize was President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906. The most recent was Dr. Linus Pauling, the nuclear physicist and anti-nuclear campaigner, who won the 1962 award. Other American winners included President Woodrow Wilson, secretary of State Cordell Hull and U.N. Undersecretary General Ralph Bunche.

Bunche became the first Negro to be awarded the prize in 1950. The second Negro winner was Chief Albert Lutuli, South African civil rights leader.

The peace prize for 1963 went to the International Red Cross.

The Nobel Committee, as usual, gave no reason for its choice.

But it was no secret King, a Baptist minister and co-pastor

with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, was cited for his leadership of the American Negro cause.

King, has been in jail more than a dozen times in the cause of racial integration. He is the author of books dealing with his theory of passive resistance to segregation.

He first rose to national prominence when he led the successful Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, in 1956. It was a battle that took a year of walking for Birmingham Negroes. At King's urging the Negroes declined to ride segregated buses. King and other Negro leaders kept the drive going with weekly mass meetings in their churches for the entire year of the boycott.

The peace prize winner is no stranger to violence. At least three attempts have been made on his life. In New York in September, 1958, a woman armed with a letter opener and a loaded pistol stabbed him while he was autographing copies of one of his books in a Harlem department store.

A team of surgeons removed 2½ inches of bone before King recovered. Ironically, it was a member of his own race who stabbed King.

In 1956, an unknown person fired a shotgun blast through the door of King's home. The next year a dynamite bomb was hurled onto the porch of his home. But it failed to explode.

Last May, Dr. King moved his forces into St. Augustine, Fla., where Negro unrest had reached a critical stage. He was again arrested as a result of his anti-segregation activities there.

Following the racial violence in Harlem and Brooklyn last summer, King made a trip to New York and conferred with Mayor Robert Wagner on means of averting further race rioting.

King is married to the former Coretta Scott, who once studied to be a concert singer. They have four children.

King has been president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an active anti-segregation group.

For years he was unchallenged leader of the civil rights movement. During the past few years, however, other groups have broken away from the S.C.L.C. He has been accused by detractors of being too moderate on the one hand, or too militant on the other. Some critics have also accused him of seeking personal fame at the expense of the Negro movement.

His talks with Mayor Wagner in July also stirred controversy among leaders of other Negro organizations in New York. He was accused of being an outsider and going over the heads of local Negro leaders.

Atlanta Dr. Roy Bell, a local leader, once charged that King was spending too much time making speeches in the north and not enough time in the



NOBEL Peace Prize winner Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., straightens tie of 5-year-old son, Martin Luther III, as he poses with Mrs. King, their son Dexter Scott, 2, in her lap, and daughter, Yolande Denise, 7. (AP Photo)

King's best known book was "Stride Toward Freedom," published in 1958 by Harper and Brothers.

He has traveled extensively in Europe, Asia, South America and Africa. In 1957, he attended Ghana's independence celebration at the invitation of Premier Kwame Nkrumah.

King was educated in the Atlanta public schools, Morehouse College in Atlanta, Crozer Theological Seminary, in Chester, Pa., the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard and Boston University. He received his doctorate at the latter school.

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UPI-27

(RELEASE AT 1:30 P.M. EDT)

(NOBEL)

OSLO--AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING TODAY WON  
 THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR 1964.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Hub Rights, Church Heads Hail Selection Of King

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Local civil rights and church leaders today hailed the selection of Dr. Martin Luther King as Nobel Peace Prize winner as "well-deserving."

Among the salutes to the Negro integration leader:

Cardinal Cushing:

"All friends of liberty and peace will rejoice in the great honor that has come to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Americans especially will be proud that this patient and persuasive crusader for human dignity has received international recognition for his years of labor suffering and sacrifice.

"The occasion should prompt us to rededicate ourselves with all our energies in the pursuit of the ideals to which Dr. King has given his life. May the God of justice and love watch over him, guide him according to the divine will, and bring his work to a successful conclusion."

Methodist Bishop James K. Matthews:

"The announcement of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is a tribute to every Negro and an honor to every American.

Most of all it is the well-deserved recognition of a great man who has given outstanding leadership in the cause of equality and dignity for every person. And he has done this by means of truth and non-violence.

"We of this city should feel especially proud, for as a scholar of Boston University he is one of us. My hope is that this honor will serve to hasten the day when the goals for which he strives will have been achieved for every American."

Thomas Atkins, executive secretary of the Boston branch, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People:

"I think that it is very significant that a civil rights leader is recognized by a world body, Ralph Bunche, undersecretary

for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations, was the only other American Negro to win the award. But he was not in the civil rights field.

"Dr. King has made widely recognized contributions in the whole area of civil and human rights. NAACP is very proud of him."

Canon James Breeden, chairman of CAPE (Committee Against Political Extremism):

"I am very deeply gratified that Dr. King's leadership of non-violence for human rights has been so honored.

"The award comes at a time when America is in a great struggle between the forces Dr. King represents and those symbolized by Sen. Barry Goldwater."

Dr. Albert J. Penner, president of the Massachusetts Congregational Christian Conference:

"The recognition of Rev. Martin Luther King as the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize is of extraordinary interest and significance. Dr. King, the outstanding leader in our movement for justice in race relations, has demonstrated the power of non-violent resistance. He has shown how relevant an ancient Christian insight is to a major contemporary problem. All America has reason to be grateful for the leadership he has been giving and should applaud the world recognition he has received."

Dr. Paul L. Sturges, executive secretary of the Massachusetts Baptist Convention:

"We are thrilled at this recognition of one of our foremost American Baptist ministers. We feel he deserves it.

"He is one of our prophetic voices, challenging not only the church to be the church, but our general public to reach for the ideals which are very basic for any just and durable peace."

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10/14/64

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

— BOSTON GLOBE  
Boston, Mass.

— BOSTON HERALD  
Boston, Mass.

36 BOSTON TRAVELER  
Boston, Mass.

— CHRISTIAN SCIENCE  
MONITOR  
Boston, Mass.

— RECORD AMERICAN  
Boston, Mass.

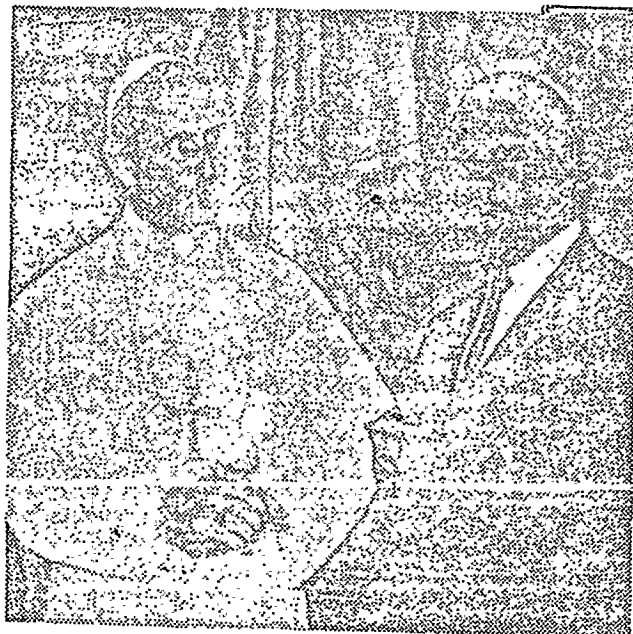
Date: 10/14/64  
Edition: Five Star Final  
Author:  
Editor: Homer Jenks  
Title: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

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Classification: 100-  
Submitting Office: Boston  
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INTEGRATIONIST leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Pope Paul VI pose during Papal audience last month. (AP Photo)



ARRESTED on loitering charge, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., is held by police at police headquarters in Montgomery, Ala. Incident occurred in September, 1958. (AP Photo).

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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# Martin King Jr. Is Nobel Peace Prize Winner

OSLO (AP)—The 1964 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded today to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Georgia-born Negro who became a civil rights crusader in the United States.

"Martin Luther King has consistently asserted the principle of nonviolence," the Oslo Nobel Institute said in its statement announcing the award.

King, son of an Atlanta Baptist minister and himself an ordained minister, provided his fellow Negroes with a powerful new weapon molded and shaped from the teachings of India's Gandhi in the fight for Negro civil rights.

KING'S AWARD, rumored for months, will amount to 273,000 Swedish kroner, (\$53,123) this year. The cash prize and the Nobel gold medal and diploma will be handed to King at ceremonies in Oslo Dec. 10.

King was born in Atlanta, Ga., in 1929 and went to the Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. He took his doctor's degree in theology at Boston University and served later as a Baptist minister.

In 1955 he was chosen to lead the Negro boycott of the

Montgomery, Ala., city buses. Since then he has served as a leader in the Negro fight for civil rights, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

KING WAS made "Man of the Year" by the American news magazine, Time, in 1963 and this year he was made an honorary doctor at Yale University and was awarded the John F. Kennedy prize by the Catholic Council for Cooperation Between the Races in Chicago.

He was the 12th American to be awarded the peace prize. In addition, the American Friends Service Committee got it once.

The prize was awarded by the Nobel committee of the Norwegian storting (parliament).

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Page 1  
 New Orleans States-Item  
 New Orleans, La.

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 126 OCT 20 1964

Date: 10-14-64  
 Edition: Red Flash  
 Author:  
 Editor:  
 Title: Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
 Character: RM  
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 Classification: 100-438794  
 Submitting Office: New Orleans  
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*File 100-1066670*

OCT 23 1964

# King to Spend Prize On Rights Movement

ATLANTA, Oct. 14 (AP)—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. received word today that he has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and immediately called it a tribute to millions of persons of good will.

Dr. King told a news conference at St. Joseph's Hospital, where he was undergoing a routine physical checkup:

"I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally, but a tribute to the discipline, wise restraint and majestic courage of the millions of gallant Negroes and white persons of good will who have followed a nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours."

And, Dr. King said, "this is an extremely moving moment in my life."

He said he intends to spend every dollar of the prize money on the civil rights movement.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which King is president, will get the majority of the money, he said.

He said the award brings with it "a demand for deepening one's commitment of nonviolence as a philosophy of life . . ."

"It is also gratifying to know that the nations of the world recognize the civil rights movement in this country as so significant a moral force as to merit such recognition."

Dr. King is a man who has preached peace-but-protest.

Perhaps more than any other man the 35-year-old Baptist minister has been responsible for the massive, nonviolent protests against racial discrimination in America.

Yet through it all he has spent time after time for nonviolence, for peaceful demonstrations.

Nonviolent protest is the most effective weapon of an

oppressed people," he has said. Many times he has kept crowds of Negro demonstrators from rioting simply by talking to them.

He started his civil rights crusade from the pulpit of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at Montgomery, Ala., in 1955. Negroes in Montgomery boycotted segregated city buses for 381 days, touching off bombings of their churches, street attacks by white men and mob violence. A bomb, which did not explode, was thrown on Dr. King's front porch.

A court ruling finally desegregated the buses.

Dr. King was not so fortunate in a Harlem department store in 1958. A Negro woman stabbed him with a fingernail file.

But Dr. King recovered and returned to his work. He returned to Atlanta in 1960 and created the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which he still heads.

Dr. King has been jailed many times in connection with racial strife, and as the racial demonstrations spread from city to city he became more and more a national figure.

Even after Dr. King's cause continued to gain support, his zeal was undiminished.

"I will not be satisfied until segregation is dead in America," he said.

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- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star A-6
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
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 S. A. G...*

UPI-164

(KING)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING SAID TODAY HIS SELECTION AS A NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER WAS A TRIBUTE TO ALL WHO MARCHED WITH HIM IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRUSADE.

"EVERY PENNY OF THIS (\$54,600 PRIZE) MONEY WILL GO TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND TO FURTHER THE WORK IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF NON VIOLENCE," KING SAID.

"I DO NOT CONSIDER THIS MERELY AN HONOR TO ME PERSONALLY, BUT A TRIBUTE TO THE DISCIPLINE, WISE RESTRAINT AND MAJESTIC COURAGE OF THE MILLIONS OF GALLANT NEGRO AND WHITE PERSONS OF GOOD WILL WHO HAVE FOLLOWED A NON-VICILENT COURSE IN SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A REIGN OF JUSTICE AND A RULE OF LOVE ACROSS THIS NATION OF OURS," HE DECLARED.

THE INTEGRATION LEADER MADE HIS COMMENTS AT A NEWS CONFERENCE AT ST. JOSEPH'S INFIRMARY, WHERE HE IS UNDERGOING A PHYSICAL CHECKUP. HIS WIFE SAID HE ENTERED THE CLINIC YESTERDAY "COMPLETELY EXHAUSTED," AND WILL REMAIN THERE THREE DAYS IF NO COMPLICATIONS DEVELOP.

THE NEGRO LEADER, WHOSE START TO WORLD FAME BEGAN IN HIS LEADERSHIP OF A BUS BOYCOTT IN MONTGOMERY, ALA., IN 1956 TOLD REPORTERS THAT AFTER HE LEAVES THE HOSPITAL HE WILL CONCENTRATE ON GETTING AMERICAN NEGROES TO THE POLLS NOV. 3.

HE SAID THAT FOLLOWING THE ELECTION HIS CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGN WILL TURN ONCE MORE TO TESTING COMPLIANCE WITH THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL-- MAINLY IN ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI--AND EFFORTS ALSO WILL TURN TO GETTING BETTER JOBS FOR NEGROES AND BROADENING AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM.

"I PLAN TO CALL A NATIONWIDE CONFERENCE ON SELECTIVE BUYING (ECCNOMIC BOYCOTT) NEXT YEAR TO CALL ATTENTION TO THE BUYING POWER OF NEGROES," KING SAID.

HE SAID THAT WHILE HE DOES NOT PLAN TO FORMALLY ENDORSE THE CANDIDACY OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON HE IS URGING NEGROES TO GO TO THE POLLS AND VOTE AGAINST SEN. GOLDWATER.

KING PREDICTED "ONE OF THE GREATEST LANDSLIDE VICTORIES" IN HISTORY FOR JOHNSON.

HE SAID HIS WIFE, WHO WAS BESIDE HIM AT HIS HOSPITAL NEWS CONFERENCE, PROBABLY WILL GO WITH HIM TO OSLO, NORWAY TO RECEIVE THE NOBEL PRIZE DEC. 10.

MRS. KING, WHO HAS STAYED AT HOME WITH THEIR FOUR CHILDREN WHILE HER HUSBAND HAS BEEN ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS FRONT, INCLUDING 15 TRIPS TO THE POLLS, SAID THE AWARD TO HER HUSBAND "GIVES ME GREAT COURAGE AND A FIRMER DETERMINATION TO STAND WITH HIM IN HIS FUTURE EFFORTS."

10/14--N515PED

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
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# Prize Ups Courage, Dr. King Says Here

By WALTER RUGABER

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said in Atlanta Wednesday that the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize "will give me new courage and determination to carry on in this fight to overcome the evils and injustice in this society."

The 35-year-old Baptist minister and Negro integration leader made the statement at a press conference with his wife hours after the Nobel award was announced in Oslo, Norway.

"I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally," Dr. King said, "but a tribute to the discipline, wise restraint, and majestic courage of the millions of gallant Negro and white persons of good will who have followed a nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours."

"It is also gratifying to know

that the nations of the world recognize the civil rights movement in this country as so significant a moral force as to merit such recognition."

DR. KING—catapulted to national attention during the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 and arrested 15 times since then on such racial battlegrounds as Atlanta, Albany, and Birmingham—made the statement at St. Joseph's Infirmary here.

He entered the hospital for a general physical checkup and said he expects to remain there for three or four more days. He was alone in a sixth floor room when his wife, Coretta, telephoned news of the Nobel honor.

The Atlanta-born civil rights leader—dressed in a blue suit, white shirt, and dark tie—met

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1  
The Atlanta Journal  
Atlanta, Georgia

Date: 10/14/64  
Edition: Final  
Author: WALTER RUGABER  
Editor: JACK SPALDING  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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newsmen in a first floor auditorium at the hospital.

He said he looks forward to "a day in the not too distant future when we will be able to solve this problem" of racial discrimination. He said the prize added an international dimension to the struggle.

DR. KING, president of the Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said his most immediate task will be to "turn out a larger percentage of registered Negro voters than ever before" on election day.

Dr. King conceded that his opposition to Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona might constitute an "indirect endorsement" of President Johnson.

He said that upon his release from the hospital he will carry his get-out-the-vote drive to some 15 Northern cities.

Then, he said, he will concentrate on implementation of the 1964 civil rights act in such states as Alabama and Mississippi and will call a nationwide conference on "selective buying" in an effort to improve job opportunities for Negroes.

Mrs. King said that at first her husband was hardly able to believe he had won the coveted international award. "Well, really!" he said.

"How do you know?" Mrs. King quoted her husband as asking.

SHE TOLD reporters her husband knew he was under consideration for the prize but that "we didn't feel really" that he

would get it. I actually didn't realize they would consider his efforts as being important enough."

Mrs. King said her husband was exhausted from his recent trip to Europe and his work in connection with the recently held national convention of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"For many years we have had to contend with the other side," Mrs. King said. "For something like this to happen makes it all worth while. Yet we are still humble in receiving this. It will only serve for us to continue our efforts."

ATLANTA Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. said Dr. King is "fully deserving of the honor and I extend the city's congratulations." The mayor declared:

"He has displayed remarkable leadership at both a national and international level to the 20 million American Negro citizens and has been instrumental in bringing full American citizenship to them."

DR. HARRY RICHARDSON, president of the Interdenominational Theological Center, said he considered the Nobel award something Dr. King has earned. The theologian also said:

"I receive (the news) with great satisfaction and joy. I think it is a fitting tribute to a man who has played perhaps the greatest part in promoting human peace in our time."

Atlanta Vice Mayor Sam Massell Jr. said he was "very excited that an Atlantan should be honored. I think his achievements are well known. He's done much for his people as

well as for human dignity at large."

Jesse Hill Jr., a young Atlanta insurance executive and longtime friend of Dr. King's, said he was "overwhelmed and very happy that he has received this honor."

MAINLY, Mr. Hill said, "I hope that his home town folks—both Negro and white—will soon after the election get together and give him a fitting honor in his own home town."

Mr. Hill said he had already discussed the possibility with a number of clergymen and that he hoped the local honor would include a proclamation by city officials and a testimonial dinner.

A. T. WALDEN, a pro homophobous municipal court judge and longtime Negro leader, said he felt the Nobel Prize "is an eminently deserved award, and I am happy to see that recognition come (to Dr. King)."

T. M. Alexander Sr., a real estate and insurance man, said "we're happy for him (Dr. King) because he has made a tremendous amount of personal sacrifice and has accomplished a great deal in focusing attention on the inequities felt by minorities around the world."

IN NEW YORK, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sent "warm" congratulations Wednesday to King.

"Your contribution in sharpening the sense of urgency in pursuit of racial peace fully merits the honor bestowed upon you," Wilkins said in a telegram. "All Americans irrespective of race, religion or region

of residence, can justly take pride in the international recognition accorded your dedicated and fruitful efforts to achieve racial harmony . . . ."

ANOTHER message was sent to King by former attorney general Robert F. Kennedy, Democratic candidate for the Senate in New York. He said the honor was "richly deserved." He said King had symbolized "the struggle of mankind for justice and

equality through nonviolent means" in his life and work.

RALPH BUNCHE, first U.S. Negro to win the Nobel Peace Prize, hailed Dr. King's selection.

The award, Bunche said, is "international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for full equality in the American society and for participation in the mainstream of American life."

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UPI-85.

(KING)

LA JOLLE, CALIF

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES UTT, REPUBLICAN CALIF., HAS CRITICIZED THE SELECTION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. FOR THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

UTT TOLD THE LA JOLLA REPUBLICAN WOMEN YESTERDAY THAT "IF THERE HAS BEEN ANYBODY WHO EVER HAS STARTED REVOLUTION AND WAR ON THE STREETS OF THE UNITED STATES IT IS MARTIN LUTHER KING."

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 Miss Holmes  
 Miss Gandy

# Nobel Peace Prize Goes to Rev. King

By BILL SHIPP

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Atlanta Negro Baptist minister jailed 15 times in nine years in his "non-violent" struggle for equal rights for his race, was announced Wednesday as the winner of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize.

The grandson of a Georgia slave learned of the coveted award in an Atlanta hospital where he is a patient.

The award, to be presented in Oslo, Norway, Dec. 10, includes \$54,123. Dr. King said, "Every penny or this money will go to the civil-rights movement and to further the work in the philosophy of non-violence."

Since King received the award without any direct action on his part, it is exempt from income taxes.

The 35-year-old minister, leader of thousands of Negroes in demonstrations across the South, is the first Georgian, the first Southerner, third Negro and 12th American to be awarded the Peace Prize.

"I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally, but a tribute to the discipline, wise restraint, and majestic courage of the millions of gallant Negro and white persons of good will who have followed a rule of love," Dr. King said in a prepared statement.

In announcing the 1964 winner of the coveted award, the Oslo Nobel Institute said:

"Martin Luther King has consistently asserted the principle of non-violence."

The announcement was met with surprise from officials of

Georgia, King's home state. The mayor of Atlanta, King's native city, publicly congratulated the Negro leader.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. said: "I have extended personal congratulations to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., an Atlanta citizen, who has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. . . . It should be recognized that Dr. King was furnished to the Negro people

*Bill Shipp*  
*Eugene Patterson*  
*Martin Luther King Jr.*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 1  
 The Atlanta Constitution,  
 Atlanta, Georgia  
 Date: 10/15/64  
 Edition: Morning  
 Author: BILL SHIPP  
 Editor: EUGENE PATTERSON  
 Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Character: IS - C  
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 Classification:  
 Submitting Office: Atlanta  
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the leadership that a white leader would have given his race should they have been a minority seeking equal rights and full citizen ship."

Rev. Charles Weltner, King's confidant, said: "He is the first Georgian to win this prize. I hope many other Southerners will receive such recognition in the future."

Democratic officials privately expressed fear that the announcement would give new impetus to the "white backlash" and aid the presidential candidacy of Sen. Barry Goldwater.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner is selected each year by a committee appointed by the Norwegian Parliament under the terms of the will of the late dynamite magnate Alfred Nobel.

The first American to win the prize was President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906. The most recent was nuclear physicist and anti-nuclear campaigner Linus Pauling who received the 1962 prize last year after it had been deferred for a year.

Other American winners include President Woodrow Wilson, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Gen. George C. Marshall and United Nations Undersecretary General Ralph Bunche, the first Negro to win the award. Bunche's award presumably was for settling the Israeli-Arab war.

South African civil rights leader chief Albert Luthuli was the only other Negro to win the award.

King learned that he had won the award at St. Joseph's Infirmary. He said his wife phoned him the news early Wednesday morning.

#### THOUGHT A DREAM

"I thought I was still asleep. For a moment I thought it was all a dream," Dr. King said.

King is in the hospital for a checkup and he is suffering from a "lingering virus," fatigue and overweight. He said he hopes to be released by Sunday so that he can attend a special ceremony at Ebenezer Baptist Church where he is copastor with his father.

The president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference posed for photographers in his hospital bed, then dressed and greeted about 50 newsmen at a press conference in the St. Joseph's auditorium Wednesday afternoon.

#### TELLS OF PLAN

King used the occasion, not only to express appreciation for the Peace Prize, but to outline plans for future civil rights activities and to denounce Sen. Goldwater.

"Never before has a presidential candidate taken such a negative stand," King said in urging a big turnout against the Republican candidate.

He was joined at the press conference by his wife, the former Coretta Scott.

#### SHARES FEELINGS

"I share the feelings of my husband. I am deeply grateful God has allowed me to participate in this non-violent movement," Mrs. King said.

A graduate of Morehouse College, King moved to Montgomery, Ala., in 1954 and led the 1955 boycott of Montgomery's segregated city buses. The boycott lasted 381 days, touching off bombings of Negro churches and street attacks by whites. But King won his point and the bus line finally was desegregated.

He said Wednesday that he considered Montgomery among his greatest triumphs because it "furnished the spark" for future activities.

In 1960, King returned to Atlanta. The following October, King came into the national spotlight for the first time. He was jailed for driving without a license. The late President John F. Kennedy telephoned

Mrs. King and Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy phoned the judge to inquire about bond. King was released, and the incident was credited with swinging thousands of votes to Kennedy.

In the months that followed King joined or led wide-scale assaults on segregation in Albany and Savannah and Birmingham, Ala., and Danville, Va. King Wednesday said Albany was one of the few cities where he suffered a "setback."

But Birmingham, he said, "awakened the national conscience" and led to passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Five young Negroes died in course of desegregation activities there.

#### LATEST ACTIVITY

King's latest activities centered around St. Augustine, Fla., and resulted in hundreds of arrests and brought Ku Klux Klansmen into the area for counter-protests.

The 5-foot-7-inch father of four has had three close brushes with death—a stabbing, and sniper and bombing attacks.

Nationally, reaction to King's award was predictable. Civil rights proponents, including Robert Kennedy and Roy Wilkins, sent hearty congratulations to King.

#### SCRAPING BOTTOM

But in Birmingham, former police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Conner said, "They're scraping the bottom of the barrel."

Virgil Stuart, police chief of St. Augustine, Fla., declared:

"I consider it one of the biggest jokes of the year. How can you win the Peace Prize when you stir up all the trouble he hid down here?"





Staff Photo—Bob Dendy  
**'GRATIFYING'**  
Dr. Martin L. King

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# Man With a Dream

## Martin Luther King Jr.

THE telephone awoke the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. yesterday in an Atlanta hospital room, where he had gone for a rest. The caller was his wife, Coretta. She told him that he had just won the Nobel Peace Prize. "I was not fully awake," Dr. King said later. "For a while I thought it was a dream, and then I realized that it was true." Dreams are important to Dr. King. There was something of the visionary in the young Negro minister who was chosen to lead a bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala., in December, 1955.



He arrived in Montgomery with a solid education behind him. He was an undergraduate at Morehouse College in Atlanta, where his father was a highly-respected Baptist minister, and then was the top man in his class at Crozier Theological Seminary in Chester, Pa.

The New York Times  
**A vision of brotherhood**

In 1954 he left Boston University with a doctorate in systematic theology. The woman who was to become his wife was an Alabaman who was studying music. They met in Boston.

Many showed respect for him even as they arrested him. They were careful not to let any harm come to the man who, in just a few years, had himself become a dream for millions of American Negroes.

The move to Montgomery was almost predictable. Mrs. King says. So was Dr. King's involvement in the now-famous bus boycott.

Few of the 200,000 people who marched on Washington in August, 1963, or who watched the demonstration on television, have forgotten another of Dr. King's visions. He stood at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial and cried:

From Montgomery, Dr. King returned to his home in Atlanta. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was formed there, with Dr. King as its president. He spoke often of the teachings of Gandhi and Thoreau, and of the "nonviolent army" he was organizing throughout the South.

"I have a dream. . . It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. . . I have a dream that one day in the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. . ."

The army moved to Albany, Ga., in 1961. Some observers say Albany was a failure for Dr. King, but others say it played an important part in preparing the movement for Birmingham.

By superficial standards, Dr. King may not look like an imposing civil rights leader. At 5 feet 8 inches, he might be considered insufficiently tall; at 35 years of age, he might be said to lack the mature appearance of a statesman.

By the time the huge demonstrations in Birmingham had taken place, Dr. King was considered by many Americans—even the grim-faced police chiefs and the deputies who arrested him 15 times—as the greatest living leader of the Negro movement in the United States

istrator. The office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference seldom knows what his schedule is, and his associates frequently issue conflicting policy statements.

As a speaker, Dr. King is at his best in the crowded Negro churches in the Deep South where the people are dreaming of change. A trembling comes into his voice, and the people in the pews echo his words, like these he spoke in Albany, Ga., two years ago:

"So listen to me, children: Put on your marching shoes; don'tcha get weary; though the path ahead may be dark and dreary; we're walking for freedom, children. . ."

The people that night walked out of the church, through the Negro section—and into the arms of the police. Dr. King was with them.

Now the civil rights act has insured the desegregation of public accommodations, and Dr. King is thinking of new ways to apply nonviolence to the long-range reforms sought by American Negroes.

He was asked yesterday whether there was a place for him in the new struggle.

He replied quietly: "History has thrust me into this position. It would both be immoral and a sign of ingratitude if I did not face my moral responsibility to do what I can in this struggle."

### On the Move

So Dr. King will probably soon forget about getting a rest in a hospital and will be flying about the country again, conferring with the President of the United States and easing Southern mayors into unavoidable positions. He will continue to spend about one-third of each month at his home in Atlanta with his wife and their four children.

The children, except for the youngest, are aware of the important role their father is playing. Bernice Albertine is 13 months old, and Dexter Scott is 3 years old. Yolanda, 8, wants to be a singer like her mother, a soprano who often is called on to sing at meetings of the many civic organizations she supports.

Martin Luther King 3d, who is 6, has already decided on a career, according to his father. "He says he wants to be a preacher," said Dr. King, "a preacher like his daddy."

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The Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
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- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
- The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_
- New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_
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- New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
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# CHEERS AND SCORN FOR NOBEL AWARD

## Rights Leaders Delighted— Perez Blames 'Reds'

Reactions to the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. ranged yesterday from enthusiastic applause among those identified with civil rights to bitter criticism among segregationists.

Abroad, the news that Dr. King had won the prize was said to have been greeted warmly in the Vatican, where Pope Paul VI received the American civil-rights leader last month in a private audience.

At the United Nations, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, who in 1950 became the first Negro to win the prize, hailed the award. But in Birmingham, Ala., where Dr. King led several massive anti-segregation demonstrations last summer, Eugene T. Connor, the former Police Commissioner, termed the selection "scraping the bottom of the barrel."

### Barnett Declines Comment

Some prominent Southerners declined to comment. They included Birmingham's Mayor, Albert Boutwell, and the former Governor of Mississippi, Ross Barnett. Ivan Allen Jr., Mayor of Atlanta, extended official congratulations.

Dr. Bunche, who is Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations and who won the Nobel prize for his work in arranging an Arab-Israeli truce in the Palestine war 15 years ago, sent "heartiest congratulations" to Dr. King.

"This announcement by the Nobel Peace Prize Committee," Dr. Bunche said, "is a striking international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for full equality in the American society and for full participation in the mainstream of American life."

### Connor Recalls 'Strife'

Mr. Connor, as Police Commissioner of Birmingham, several times used fire hoses and police dogs to disperse anti-segregation demonstrators. Hundreds of Negroes, including Dr. King, were arrested. At first Mr. Connor declined to comment on the award announcement in Oslo.

"I don't care enough about it to want to say anything," he remarked. "It's awarded over there and not here. They don't know him." Then he added: "They're scraping the bottom of the barrel when they pick him. He's caused more trouble in this country than anyone I can think of."

Praise for the award to Dr. King came from Richard Cardinal Cushing, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston, who said that "all friends of liberty and peace" would rejoice.

In St. Louis, the Right Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, hailed Dr. King as "one of the great men of our times."

### Perez Sees Red Influence

Speaking at the 61st general convention of the Episcopal Church, Bishop Lichtenberger said of the Negro leader: "His dedication to the cause of freedom for all men, and his insistence on the use of nonviolent tactics in the struggle to achieve those rights, inspires and gives hope to countless millions around the world. I salute my brother in Christ."

The other Americans who have won or shared in the peace prize were:

President Theodore Roosevelt, 1906; Elihu Root, President Roosevelt's Secretary of State, 1912; President Woodrow Wilson, 1919; Vice President Charles E. Dawes, 1924; Frank B. Kellogg, President Calvin

Hoover's Secretary of State, 1929.

Nicholas Murray Butler, educator and former president of Columbia University, shared award with Jane Addams, settlement worker and cofounder of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1931; Cordell Hull, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Secretary of State, 1945; John R. Mott, evangelist, shared award with Emily G. Balch, pacifist and co-founder of Women's International League with Miss Addams, 1946; Dr. Bunche, United Nations official, 1950, and Gen. George C. Marshall, Secretary of State under President Truman, 1953.

In addition, the American Friends and Service Committee, a Quaker organization, was awarded the prize in 1947.

In New Orleans, Leander H. Perez Sr., prominent segregationist, said of the award: "That only shows the Communist influence nationally and internationally. Shame on somebody."

In Atlanta Mayor Allen, in extending his city's congratulations, declared: "He has displayed remarkable leadership at both the national and international level to the 20 million American Negro citizens and has been instrumental in bringing full American citizenship to them."

### Kennedy Sends Message

Former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in the midst of his campaign to win a Senate seat from New York, told Dr. King in a message that the prize was "richly deserved" and that his life and work symbolized "the struggle of mankind for justice and equality through nonviolent means."

Many civil-rights leaders sent messages of congratulation to Dr. King. Among them was Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"All Americans irrespective of race, religion or region of residence," he wrote, "can justly take pride in the international recognition accorded your dedicated and fruitful efforts to achieve racial harmony."

In Richmond, the Rev. Aubrey Brown, editor of The Presbyterian Outlook, an unofficial organ of the Southern Presbyterian Church, said he applauded the award to Dr. King.

"The South ought to thank God every day for him," he said. "With his power and influence he has been able to direct into constructive channels what otherwise might have become irresponsible action and brought terrifying results."

But in St. Augustine, Fla., where there was racial violence on several occasions last summer when Dr. King headed antisegregation demonstrations, Police Chief Virgil Stuart said of the award: "I consider it one of the biggest jokes of the year. How can you win the peace prize when you stir up all the trouble he did down here?"

And in Montgomery, Ala., sometimes referred to as the "Cradle of the Confederacy," Col. Albert J. Lingo, director of public safety, who has led police action against the rights demonstrations in his state, was asked to give his reaction to the award. "No comment on Martin Luther King," Colonel Lingo said. "But when he comes into this state, we'll see that he doesn't break any laws."

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# Nobelman King

A 22

The world's newest winner of the Nobel Peace Prize is Dr. Martin Luther King, and in their hearts even those who differ with this Negro leader must know that the choice was right. Dr. King's gifts as an orator and as an organizer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have made him a national figure. But what has made Dr. King a world figure has been his determination to use his gifts to combat the spirit of violence as well as the blight of bigotry.

Dr. King is a conscious disciple of Ghandi, the prophet of passive resistance. The technique of passive resistance has been peculiarly effective for the American Negro, who must ultimately rely on the awakened conscience of a white majority to free both races from the bondage of hate. Beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott, Dr. King has proved immensely effective in channeling Negro militance into forms of demonstration that have been at once dramatic and nonviolent.

Curiously enough, Ghandi himself evolved the doctrine of passive resistance when he was a young lawyer practicing in South Africa. Ghandi was influenced by the Russian Tolstoi and by the Yankee individualist Thoreau. All of these sources have fused in the person of Martin Luther King, who has proved again the power of an idea whose time has come. Americans can rejoice in the selection made by a committee of the Norwegian Parliament for a prize that honors Dr. King's race and his country.

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# Dr. King's Prize

A NOBEL PEACE PRIZE for Dr. Martin Luther King? The award, announced yesterday in Oslo, Norway, must have startled many Americans, both friends and enemies of this Negro clergyman.

A prize for eloquent oratory, certainly! Or for able leadership in cause of equal rights! But peace?

Dr. King first came to national attention in 1955 when he led the Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala. Since that time he has been agent and spokesman for discontent. Tho it was not of his making, strife and violence have followed his preaching.

But peace is a relative term. Dr. King achieved prominence at a time of seething unrest among Negro citizens at generations of unjust, second-class treatment. It was a situation which threatened church burning, church burning, beating for beating, lynching for lynching.

But Dr. King, an admirer of India's Gandhi, counseled nonviolence all thru the South and the Southern Negroes mainly listened. The violence, in vast

majority, has been committed against them — not by them — when they have attempted to demonstrate peacefully or to assert the rights which the law and the courts hold to be their due.

Dr. King has operated in obvious confidence as to the innate goodness of his fellow citizens — both white and black — in their desire to remedy injustice once it is brought forcibly to their attention. His confidence is being justified in steady, if slow, adjustment thru most of the Southland to the new ways which changing times demand.

Dr. King's influence has backed evolution, instead of revolution, patient dealing with human contrariness instead of abrupt, direct action. In his record, there may be a lesson for world statesmen dealing with even more violent prejudices and ambitions for power. That, we judge, is the reason the committee of the Norwegian Parliament awarded him the prize. As we recover from our original surprise and think it over, we conclude it is well deserved.

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# Dr. Martin Luther King Wins Nobel Peace Prize

From News Dispatches

OSLO, Oct. 14—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize today for his leadership of the U.S. civil rights movement. At 35, he is one of the youngest to win the prize.

King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, became the 12th American and the third Negro to win the award, which this year is worth \$54,600.

(From St. Joseph's Hospital in Atlanta, where he was undergoing a medical examination, King said that "every penny of this money will go to the civil rights movement and to further the work in the philosophy of non-violence.

"I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally," he added, "but a

Dr. King's selection draws mixed reaction in Nation. Page A17.

tribute to the discipline, wise restraint and majestic courage of the millions of gailant Negro and white persons of good will who have followed a non-violent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this Nation of ours.")

The award was announced here by the Olso Nobel Institute, which said King had "consistently asserted the principle of non-violence." The American clergyman was nominated last January by eight Swedish Parliament members.

His selection was no surprise in Oslo. Newspapers here and elsewhere in Europe, along with many European parliamentarians, had been active supporters of his candidacy.

The peace prize will be awarded Dec. 10 at Olso University in the presense of Norwegian King Olaf V. Other Nobel winners—for physics, chemistry, medicine and psychology and literature—will be chosen by the Nobel com-

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**NOBEL—From Page A1**

# Dr. Martin Luther King Chosen for Nobel Prize

mittee in Stockholm and will be announced later.

The prizes are awarded annually under the terms of the will of the late dynamite magnate Alfred Nobel.

The only other Negroes to win the award were South African civil rights leader Chief Albert Luthuli and American

Ralph Bunche, now an under secretary of the United Nations.

Bunche, who won the award in 1950 for negotiating armistice agreements that ended the 1948-49 fighting between Israel and its Arab neighbors, wired congratulations to King.

Bunche called the award "a striking international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for full equality in the American society and for full participation in the mainstream of American life. It is, moreover, a splendid and fully merited tribute to you personally for your courage in the devotion to that cause and struggle."

King, who has been jailed several times for his role in non-violent demonstrations by Negroes throughout the South, is co-pastor with his father of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

Other American winners of the peace prize include Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Gen. George C. Marshall and more recently scientist Linus Pauling.

As is customary, the Nobel Committee did not name any other candidates nor disclose the reasons for the choice. The latter will be done at the awards ceremony.

- The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_
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# Martin Luther King Wins The Nobel Prize for Peace



Associated Press Wirephoto

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., in St. Joseph's Infirmary in Atlanta for routine physical examination, learns he has been designated to receive Nobel Peace Prize.

Special to The New York Times

OSLO, Norway, Oct. 14—The Norwegian state radio Nobel Peace Prize for 1964 was changed its program schedule awarded today to the Rev. Dr. tonight to broadcast a 30-minute program in honor of Martin Luther King Jr.

The 35-year-old civil rights leader is the youngest winner of the prize that Dr. Alfred Nobel instituted since the first was awarded in 1901. Dr. King said that "every penny" of the prize money, which amounts to about \$54,000, would be given to the civil rights movement.

The prize is given to the person "who has done most for the furtherance of brotherhood among men and to the abolishment or reduction of standing armies and for the extension of these purposes."

"I am glad people of other nations are concerned with our problems here," he said. He added that he regarded the prize as a sign that world public opinion was on the side of those struggling for freedom and dignity.

He also said he saw no political implications in the award. "I am a minister of the gospel, not a political leader," he said.

The United States Ambassador in Oslo, Miss Margaret Joy Tibbetts, said tonight: "As an American and representative of the American people, I want to express joy and gratitude that one of my fellow countrymen has been awarded this prize." She praised the role of Dr. King "among his fellow countrymen."

He is also the 12th American to receive the peace prize. The first, in 1950, was Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Under Secretary of the United Nations. In 1960 the former leader of the African National Congress in South Africa, Chief Albert Luthuli, received the award.

Dr. King is the 12th American to be awarded the peace prize. Dr. Nobel, the Swedish scientist who established it, was the inventor of dynamite. The award is given by the Norwegian Parliament.

The other Nobel prizes for chemistry, physics, medicine and physiology, and literature will be awarded later in Sweden.

The award to Dr. King will be made in Oslo Dec. 10.

### Tribute to Nonviolence Seen

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Oct. 14 — Dr. King said today that the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to him was a tribute to millions of Americans who followed the precepts of nonviolence.

He spoke from a room at St. Joseph's Infirmary here, where he was undergoing a checkup and getting some rest.

"I was deeply gratified to hear the news that I had been chosen for this most significant award," he said, "and I will certainly receive it with great humility and profound appreciation."

His wife, Coretta, said: "For many years we have had to contend with the other side. For something like this to happen makes it all worthwhile."

Dr. King, who said he would use the money to advance the civil rights movement, is the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an Atlanta-based organization that has programs in voter registration, citizenship training, and leadership development.

The organization has affiliates in several Southern cities. Most of them are operated through church groups.

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"I do not consider this more an honor to me personally," Dr. King said, "but a credit to the disciplined, wise restraint and majestic courage of the Negro and white persons of goodwill who have followed the nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours."

Dr. King said that he is gratified in knowing that "the nations of the world" bestowing the prize on him "recognize the civil rights movement in this country as so significant a moral force as to merit such recognition."

After noting that he had had a general physical checkup in two years, Dr. King said just kind of got run down. He said the checkup would take about two days, and that would remain in the hospital for a day or two more "to get some rest."

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# Dr. King's Selection Draws Varying Comment in Nation

From News Dispatches

ATLANTA, Oct. 14—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was announced as winner of the Nobel Peace Prize today, is a man who has preached both peace and protest.

Perhaps more than any other man the 35-year-old Baptist minister has been responsible for the massive, nonviolent protests against racial discrimination in America.

Yet through it all he has spoken time after time for nonviolence, for peaceful demonstrations. He has refused to be deterred by four apparent attempts on his life.

"Nonviolent protest is the most effective weapon of an oppressed people," he has said.

Dr. King took up his crusade at 26 from the pulpit of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at Montgomery, Ala., in 1955. Negroes in Montgomery boycotted segregated city buses for 381 days, touching off bombings of their churches, street attacks by white men and mob violence. A court ruling finally desegregated the buses.

## Jailed in South

In 1960 Dr. King created the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which he still heads.

Dr. King was jailed many times in connection with racial demonstrations in the South.

Some Southern officials reacted angrily to the selection of Dr. King as the Nobel Peace Prize winner, but he won warm praise in other quarters.

Eugene (Bull) Connor, who was Police Commissioner of Birmingham, Ala., at the time of Dr. King's massive desegregation drive in the steel city in 1963, said "they're scraping the bottom of the barrel."

Police Chief Virgil Stuart of St. Augustine, Fla., declared:

"I consider it one of the biggest jokes of the year. How can you win the Peace Prize when you stir up all the trouble he did down here?"

Former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, now a Democratic candidate for the Senate in New York State, sent Dr. King a message saying the honor was "richly deserved." He said Dr. King had symbolized "the struggle of mankind for justice and equality through nonviolent means" in his life and work.

Another message of warm

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congratulations came from Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP in New York.

"All Americans, irrespective of race, religion or region of residence, can justly take pride in the international recognition" accorded Dr. King, Wilkins said in a telegram.

"Troubles and Violence"

"I think with all the troubles for which he was responsible in several states in this Union, that it strikes a note of sadness in the hearts of many peace-loving people," said Mississippi Gov. Paul B. Johnson at the Southern Governors Conference in San Antonio, Tex.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama refused comment, as did many other Southern officials.

United Nations Under Secretary Ralph Bunche, the first Negro to win the Prize, hailed Dr. King's selection as "international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for equality."

In St. Louis, the Right Rev. Arthur Lichtenberger, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, said at the 61st General Convention of the denomination:

"I am delighted to hear the news about Dr. King. He is one of the great men of our times . . . I salute my brother in Christ."

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View From Outside

Awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to MARTIN LUTHER KING has brought sneers from segregationists and cheers from civil rights leaders.

To be blunt about it, it is stretching the imagination to say that Dr. KING has made a major contribution to the peace of the world. He has been the advocate of non-violence in the Negro's struggle in America, but the movement with which he has been associated has been anything but peaceable. While Dr. KING has preached non-violence in the open, under the surface his leadership has unfortunately stimulated the radicalism that has turned into rioting.

The jury which awarded the Nobel Peace Prize has helped to inscribe the name of MARTIN LUTHER KING in the history books of the future. The motivation for the choice was to find a figure of international fame who symbolizes the worldwide ascendancy of the dark-skinned people. We might, at least, be pleased that the prize went to an American, rather than to one of the tyrannical leaders of the various neophyte nations of Africa or Asia.

RALPH BUNCHE, undersecretary of the United Nations, came close to the basic truth of the selection when he said it was "international recognition of the cause and struggle of the American Negro for equality."

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The Commercial Appeal

Memphis, Tenn.

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**REV. DR. MARTIN Luther King**, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and one of the country's outstanding civil rights fighters, was awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace prize in Oslo, Norway on Oct. 14.

Dr. King thus joined Prof. Linus Pauling, who received this honor in 1963.

Dr. King is the second American Negro to receive the award. In 1950 it went to Dr. Ralph J. Bunche for his services with the United Nations.

Another civil rights fighter to be honored with the peace award is Albert John Luthuli of South Africa who received the prize in 1960. Luthuli is held in house arrest by the South African government.

Dr. King will officially be awarded the prize at a ceremony at Oslo University on Dec. 10.

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Arkansas Democrat

Little Rock, Arkansas

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**Is Nobel Prize Really for Peace?**

Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. is the second American Negro to win the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1950 Ralph Johnson Bunche was awarded it for his service to world peace as the U.N mediator on Palestine in 1948-49.

Prior to his mission to the Middle East, Bunche had earned international recognition as a diplomat and student of world affairs. Occasionally he has taken on active part in promoting civil rights in the United States.

But Negroes have benefited little or nothing from his making an issue of membership in a private club. Instead, he has contributed to world respect for Negroes by being a man of great talent and achievement.

Although King is known internationally as a civil rights leader, his work has been entirely in this country and mainly in the South. He has preached non-violence, yet demonstrations which he helped organize and many more that were inspired by his teachings all too often have ended in violence.

What he has done for domestic peace much less world brotherhood completely escapes us. If the Nobel prize is for civil rights activity then he deserves it, although the honor for that might be disputed in behalf of Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish socialist whose "American Dilemma" has been a great influence on U.S. government civil rights policies.

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# 'Many People of Goodwill'

## Martin Luther Kings are On a Mountain Top

ATLANTA (AP)—"I wish we could remain on this mountaintop forever," Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. says of her reaction to her husband's winning the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize.

"For the past 10 years, we have lived with the threat of death always present."

"I think this award will create a more favorable opinion for the civil rights movement."

Since 1954, when King began preaching nonviolence as a tactic in fighting segregation, he has been jailed 15 times, stabbed once, threatened often, has seen his own peoples' churches in ashes, and while a resident of Montgomery, Ala., was in his own home with his wife and their first child when it was rocked by a bomb blast.

"I think things will be better now," says Mrs. King, a slender attractive woman with long hair.

"There are so many people of good-will; this award will give them encouragement to accept what is the law of the land."

Since her childhood days in Perry County, Ala., where she was born, Mrs. King said she has been determined to do something worthwhile in the fight for civil rights.

"I want my children to grow up in a world full of compassion and concern," she says.

In 1947, Mrs. King — then Coretta Scott — left Alabama

and entered Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio.

She was intent on a singing

career. A few years later, while studying voice in Boston, she met the young Baptist minister who was to become her husband.

"A mutual friend phoned and said she wanted me to meet a very promising young minister from Atlanta," she recalled, and added with a laugh: "I wasn't interested in meeting a young minister at that time."

Eighteen months later they were married. Since then, Mrs. King, a former voice instructor, has sung at concerts for numerous civil rights organizations and when possible has accompanied her husband on his trips in behalf of civil rights.

"With four children, this isn't always easy to do," she says. The children are Yolanda, 8, Martin Luther III, 7, Dexter Scott, 3, and Bernice, 18 months.

The Kings' red brick home

with its barred windows is filled with mementos from admirers, many unknown.

A portrait of Gandhi, given to the Kings by the Gandhi Peace Foundation, hangs in the living room.

King has said he shaped his passive resistance program from the teachings of the great Indian leader.

There is also a bust of the late President Franklin Roosevelt, and an abstract oil painting titled "Integration," painted and given them by a great-great-granddaughter of John Brown, the 19th century abolitionist.

"A wife needs to be as committed as her husband to his cause," Mrs. King says. "But it has been hard on the children."

"I've tried to explain to them that their father is trying to help people and I think the children are beginning to understand," she says.

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*S. P. King Jr.*  
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# Nobel Peace Prize Given To Martin Luther King

OSLO (AP)—The 1964 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded today to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Georgia-born Negro who became a civil rights crusader in the United States.

"Martin Luther King has consistently asserted the principle of nonviolence," the Oslo Nobel Institute said in its statement announcing the award.

Dr. King, son of an Atlanta Baptist minister and himself an ordained minister, provided his fellow Negroes with a powerful, new weapon molded and shaped from the teachings of India's Gandhi in the fight for Negro civil rights.

Dr. King's award, rumored for months, will amount to 273,000 Swedish kroner, (\$53,123) this year. The cash prize and the Nobel gold medal and diploma will be handed to Dr. King at ceremonies in Oslo Dec. 10.

### Born in Atlanta

Dr. King was born in Atlanta, Ga. in 1929 and went to the Morehouse Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Pa. He took his doctor's degree in theology at Boston University and served later as Baptist minister.

In 1955 he was chosen to lead the Negro boycott of the Montgomery, Ala., city buses. Since then he has served as a leader in the Negro fight for civil rights, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Dr. King was made "Man of the Year" by the American news magazine, Time, in 1963 and this year he was made an honorary doctor at Yale University and was awarded the John F. Kennedy Prize by the Catholic Council for Cooperation Between the Races in Chicago.

He was the 12th American to be awarded the peace prize. In addition, the American Friends Service committee got it once.

The prize was awarded by the Nobel committee of the Norwegian Storting (parliament).

Chairman of the committee is director Gunnar Jahn. Vice chairman is Dean G. Natvig-Pedersen. Others are socialist members of parliament Mrs. Aase Wind Lionaes, socialist president of the Storting Niils Langhelle, and conservative floor leader and governor of the province of Akershus, John Lyng.

### Will Set Up Awards

The Swedish inventor of dynamite, Dr. Alfred Nobel stated in his will in 1895 that his for-

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**MARTIN LUTHER KING**  
—Harris & Ewing

tune should go to the establishment of prizes to be awarded in chemistry, physics, medicine and physiology, literature and for peace.

The peace prize is awarded by the Norwegian parliament. The other four prizes are awarded in Sweden.

Dr. King—the third Negro to be awarded the peace prize—will receive the award from

Gunnar Jahn in a solemn ceremony in the University of Oslo on Dec. 10, on the anniversary of Nobel's death.

Dr. Ralph Bunche of the United States, United Nations undersecretary for special political affairs, was the first Negro to get the peace prize. He won it in 1950. South African leader Albert Luthuli won it in 1960.

The Nobel Committee, never announces who else has been proposed for the prize. Neither does it, at the time of announcing the award, give the full reasons for the choice. That will be done by Jahn when he makes the Nobel speech in December.

Nobel decided that the peace prize should be awarded to "the one, who has worked most or best for furthering the brotherhood between peoples and for abolishment or reduction of the standing armies, and for establishment and furtherance of peace congresses."

The members of the five-man committee are elected by the Storting for six-year periods—three and then two of the members being elected every third year. Members of the cabinet cannot serve on the committee.

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UPI 122

(KING)

ATLANTA--NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. TONIGHT WAS GIVEN A TUMULTUOUS SENDOFF TO EUROPE BY HIS FOLLOWERS, MANY OF WHOM HE HAS LED THROUGH SOME OF THE WORST RACIAL TROUBLES IN THE SOUTH'S HISTORY.

KING, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE AND A NUMBER OF HIS STAFF MEMBERS, WILL RECEIVE THE \$54,000 PEACE PRIZE NEXT WEEK IN OSLO.

IN NEW YORK TONIGHT AND TOMORROW, HE WILL BE HONORED BY UNITED NATIONS AMBASSADOR ADLAI STEVENSON, U.N. SECRETARY U THANT, AND DR. RALPH BUNCHE, A FORMER PEACE PRIZE WINNER.

KING TOLD REPORTERS HERE HE WILL RETURN TO PLUNGE IMMEDIATELY INTO TESTING OF THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS LAW, MAINLY IN ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI.

ONLY A FEW DETRACTORS WERE AMONG THE CROWD THAT TURNED UP TO SEE KING OFF.

KING DECLINED TO COMMENT ON A STATEMENT BY GEORGIA SEN. HERMAN TALMADGE THAT FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER SHOULD HAVE A MEDAL FOR CALLING THE NEGRO LEADER THE NATION'S "MOST NOTORIOUS LIAR."

KING SAID HE DID NOT HAVE TO "DEFEND MY INTEGRITY--THAT IS UP TO THE PUBLIC."

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**NAMES AND FACES**  
 By William Rollins

*En Route to a Peace Prize* **31**

The Rev. Martin Luther King arrived in London for a three-day visit en route to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize on Thursday. Today the American civil rights leader will preach in St. Paul's Cathedral and hold a news conference. Tomorrow he will visit the House of Commons and meet with members of Parliament, talk with officials of the British Council of Churches and talk at a public meeting in City Temple Hall sponsored by Britain's Christian Action Organization. He said on his arrival: "I am pleased to return to Great Britain where the will for peace and justice has always been strong and where the courage to act has always accompanied that determination. More and more I have come to realize that racism is a world problem and that the work of Christian Action to support freedom in South Africa is a part of our struggle to eliminate segregation and discrimination."

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- The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_
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(KING)

OSLO--THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SAID TODAY THE CIVIL WAR IN THE CONGO WILL NOT BE SETTLED UNTIL ALL FOREIGN TROOPS INCLUDING MERCENARIES HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN.

KING NOTED HE "HAD NOT GONE SO FAR" AS TO RECOMMEND THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WITHDRAW ITS SUPPORT OF CONGOLESE PREMIER MOISE TSHOMBE.

HE TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE HE SAW NO MILITARY SOLUTION OF THE CONGO CRISIS. HE BELIEVED IT COULD BE SETTLED ONLY THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

HE SAID RADICAL DISCRIMINATION AND INJUSTICE WAS A "GREATER THREAT TO WORLD PEACE THAN THE ATOMIC BOMB."

KING, WINNER OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, WILL RECEIVE THE WARD TOMORROW IN OSLO UNIVERSITY. HE SAID "ONCE IN A LIFETIME IS A MAN PRIVILEGED TO BE PRESENT ON AN OCCASION LIKE THIS."

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# King Accepts Nobel Prize As Recognizing Nonviolence

OSLO, Norway (AP) — Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., American Negro civil rights leader, accepted the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize today as "profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time — the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression."

In companion ceremonies later in Stockholm, Sweden, Nobel awards in physics, chemistry and medicine were to be presented to two American scientists, an English woman, a German and two Russians.

### Other Awards

Dr. Charles H. Townes, 49, provost of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, receives the physics prize. The other prize is shared by two Russians,

Nikolay Basov, 42, and Alexander Prochorov, 48.

Harvard biochemist Dr. Konrad Bloch, 52, split the physiology and medicine prize with Fedor Lynen, 53, of Munich.

Mrs. Dorothy Crowfoot Hodgkin, 54, of England won the chemistry award.

French author-philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre won the literature prize but rejected it.

Gunnar Jahn, chairman of the Norwegian Parliament's Nobel Committee, presented the gold medal and diploma to King in a ceremony at Oslo University on the 68th anniversary of the death of the donor, Alfred Nobel, Swedish inventor of dynamite.

### Gives \$53,123 to Cause

King got the monetary award of 273,000 Swedish kroner — \$53,123 — and announced he had

given it to the civil rights cause.

King, 35, is the 12th American and the third Negro to win the peace prize. He was honored for asserting the principle of nonviolence in the civil rights movement.

Jahn said that King "is the first person in the Western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence."

### Never Faltered

"He is the first to make the message of brotherly love a reality in the course of his struggle and he has proclaimed a message to all men, to all nations and races."

"Today we pay our tribute to Martin Luther King, the man who has never abandoned his faith in the unarmed struggle he is waging, who has suffered for

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*S. P. [Signature]*

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his faith, been imprisoned on many occasions, whose home has been subject to bomb attacks, whose life and those of his family have been threatened and who nevertheless has never faltered."

Before the ceremony King had a private audience with King Olav V. The monarch, members of the government and other Norwegian leaders were present at the ceremony. Also there were the 35-year-old Baptist minister's wife, Coretta, his father and mother and brother, as well as members of the American civil rights movement.

Jahn said that in the nuclear age "the time has come to lay our weapons and armaments aside and listen to the message Martin Luther King has given us."

#### Favors Unarmed Truth

King responded by saying: "I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hell of thermonuclear destruction. I believe that unarmed truth and uncon-

ditional love will have the final word in reality."

King said he accepted the prize at a moment when 22 million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice.

"I accept this award in behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and a rule of justice."

#### Ceremonies in Stockholm

King said he believed the prize was given as "a profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time—the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression."

At Stockholm's concert hall, Swedish King Gustav VI Adolf was to hand out the other awards.

Townes, Basov and Prochorov were honored for basic research on the powerful light and radio beams called laser and maser,

which may open up unlimited horizons in the fields of medicine, industry, space and communications, but could also be used for development of a possible "death ray."

Bloch and Lynen were honored for their research in the fight against heart disease. The two were credited with important discoveries in the regulation of cholesterol, the fatty acid often blamed as a cause of heart ailments.

Mrs. Hodgkin was the only woman to win a Nobel prize in 1964 and the third of her sex so honored in chemistry.

Mrs. Hodgkin was cited for X-ray studies that determined the structures of biochemical compounds, including B12 and penicillin.

Sartre said "a writer should be recognized only through his work and unhampered by prizes whether it be a Nobel Prize or a sack of potatoes."

At today's presentations, the award to Sartre and the subsequent rejection were to be noted. The money goes back into the Nobel fund.

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**Around the World: Dr. King Receives Nobel Prize Cash**

**O** SLO — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. received his Nobel Peace Prize award of \$52,800 yesterday and reiterated his pledge that the money would be used for the civil rights movement.

Dr. King said he was studying a report from U.S. sources that the money might not be tax exempt if he gives it to the movement formally.

Today, Dr. King will receive the Nobel gold medal and diploma from King Olav V at the traditional ceremony, after a private audience with the King.

This year's Nobel Prizes in chemistry, physics, medicine and literature, selected by a committee in Sweden rather than in Norway, will be awarded today in Stockholm, by King Gustaf VI Adolph.

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- Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# King Takes Nobel As Salute to Ideal

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“He is the first to make the message of brotherly love a

reality in the course of his struggle and he has proclaimed a message to all men, to all nations and races.

“Today we pay our tribute to Martin Luther King, the man who has never abandoned his faith in the unarmed struggle he is waging, who has suffered for his faith, been imprisoned on many occasions, whose home has been subject to bomb attacks, whose life and those of his family have been threatened and who nevertheless has never faltered.”

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Page 6  
The Atlanta Journal,  
Atlanta, Georgia

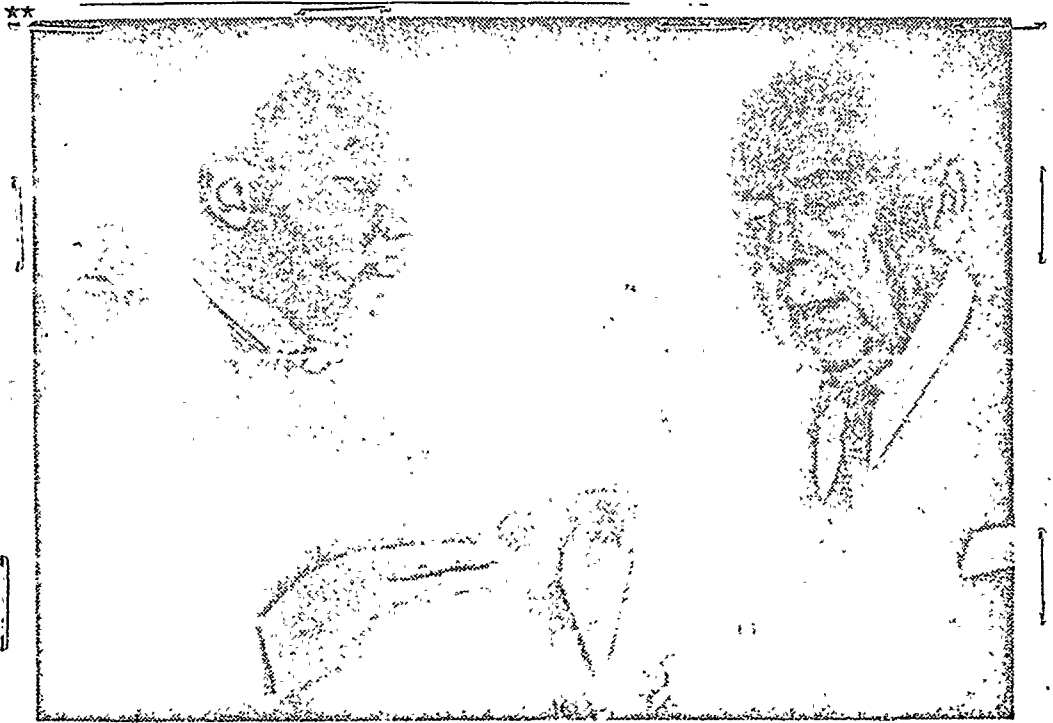
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Associated Press Wirephoto  
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING (L) HOLDS CASE CONTAINING NOBEL PEACE PRIZE  
Making Presentation Was Gunnar Jahn (R), Chairman of Norwegian Parliament's Nobel Panel



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UPI-14

(KING)

OSLO--THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING TODAY RECEIVED THE \$54,600 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FOR 1964 -- AN AWARD HE HAS PLEDGED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE CAUSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE U.S.

"I ACCEPT THIS AWARD TODAY WITH AN ABIDING FAITH IN AMERICA AND AN AUDACIOUS FAITH IN THE FUTURE OF MANKIND," THE NEGRO CLERGYMAN SAID.

"I REFUSE TO ACCEPT DESPAIR AS THE FINAL RESPONSE TO THE AMBIGUITIES OF HISTORY."

THE CHECK AND A DIPLOMA EMBLEMATIC OF THE PRIZE WERE PRESENTED TO KING BY GUNNAR JAHN, CHAIRMAN OF THE NORWEGIAN NOBEL COMMITTEE, AT A CEREMONY AT OSLO UNIVERSITY.

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- Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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# King Accepts Nobel, Affirms His Faith

By JAMES FERON

(Copyright 1964 by the New York Times Co.)

OSLO, Norway—The Rev. Martin Luther King accepted the Nobel Peace Prize Thursday on behalf of the civil rights movement and "all men who love peace and brotherhood."

The Baptist minister, in a ceremony at Oslo University, said the award came "at a moment when 22 million Negroes of the United States are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice."

## FAITH IN AMERICA

He said, however, that he had

an "abiding faith in America" and refused to believe that mankind was "so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality."

Dr. King's sermon-like acceptance speech was delivered before an audience that included King Olav of Norway, government and diplomatic leaders, members of the Negro clergyman's family and his associates in the civil rights movement. The ceremony was televised throughout Europe.

The 35-year-old minister, youngest ever to win the coveted award worth about \$54,000, said he recognized that he led a movement "which has not won the very peace and brotherhood which is the essence of the Nobel Prize."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

*Biggs*  
*SP*  
*[Signature]*

Page 9  
The Atlanta  
Constitution,  
Atlanta, Georgia

Date: 12/11/64

Edition: Morning

Author: JAMES FERON

Editor: EUGENE PATTERSON

Title: CIRM

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Atlanta

Being Investigated

*File*  
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133 DEC 21 1964

63 21 1964

#### PROFOUND RECOGNITION

Why, then, award this prize to a movement "which is beleaguered and committed to unrelenting struggle?" King asked. He said that "after contemplation" he had reached this conclusion:

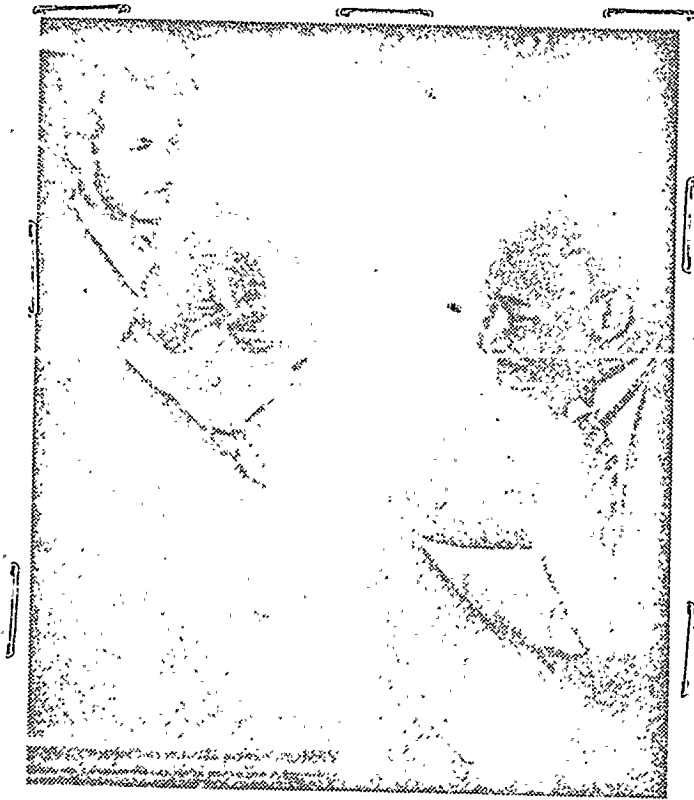
"This award, which I receive on behalf of that movement, is a profound recognition that non-violence is the answer to the crucial political and moral question of our time—the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression."

#### IN SLOW VOICE

King, speaking for 16 minutes in a slow deep voice that filled the marble hall, said he had come to Oslo as a "trustee" for the "humble children" of the civil rights movement "who were willing to suffer for righteousness' sake."

The Negro leader is the third of his race to win the award. The first was Ralph Bunche, for his work as United Nations undersecretary, and the second was Chief Albert Luthuli of South Africa, "whose struggle with and for his people," Dr. King said, "are still met with the most brutal expression of man's inhumanity to man."

King was hailed by Gunnar Jahn, the chairman of the Norwegian Parliament's Nobel committee, as an "undaunted champion of peace," the "first person in the Western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence."



Associated Press Wirephoto

**NORWEGIAN KING CONGRATULATES WINNER**

Olav V and Dr. Martin Luther King

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Dr. King Accepts Nobel Peace Prize as 'Trustee'

By JAMES FERON

Special to The New York Times

OSLO, Norway, Dec. 10—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. accepted the Nobel Peace Prize today on behalf of the civil rights movement and "all men who love peace and brotherhood." The Baptist minister, in a ceremony at Oslo University, said the award came "at a moment when 22 million Negroes of the United States are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice."

Nevertheless, he said that he had an "abiding faith in America" and refused to believe that mankind was "so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality." Dr. King's sermon-like acceptance speech was delivered before an audience that included King Olav V of Norway, Government and diplomatic leaders, members of Dr. King's family and his associates in

the civil rights movement. He spoke in English and the ceremony was televised throughout Europe. The award carried a money prize equivalent to about \$54,000. The 35-year-old minister, the youngest person ever to win the coveted award, said he recognized that he led a movement "which has not won the very peace and brotherhood which is the essence of the Nobel Prize." Why, then, award this prize to a movement "which is beleaguered and committed

to unrelenting struggle?" King asked. He said that "after contemplation" he had reached this conclusion: "This award, which I receive on behalf of that movement, is a profound recognition that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time—the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression." Speaking for 10

*M. S. ...  
 Johnson  
 Howard*

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times   /    
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date   12-11  

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minutes in a slow, deep voice that filled the hall, Dr. King said that he had come to Oslo as a "trustee" for the "humble children" of the civil rights movement "who were willing to suffer for righteousness' sake." "I think Alfred Nobel would know what I mean when I say that I accept this award in the spirit of a curator of some precious heirloom which he holds in trust for its true owners—all those to whom truth is beauty and beauty truth—and in whose eyes the beauty of genuine brotherhood and peace is more precious than diamonds, or silver or gold," he declared.

The Negro leader is the third of his race to win the award. The first was Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, for his work as a United Nations Under Secretary, and the second was Chief Albert Luthuli of South Africa.

Dr. King was hailed by Gunnar Jahn, the chairman of the Norwegian Parliament's Nobel Committee, as an "undaunted champion of peace," and the "first person in the Western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence."

Dr. Jahn spoke in Norwegian for more than half an hour describing Dr. King's background and his fight for civil rights. He said that though Dr. King "has not personally committed himself to the international conflict, his own struggle is a clarion call for all who work for peace."

#### Steadfastness Praised

He described Dr. King as "the man who has never abandoned his faith and the unarmed struggle he is waging, who has suffered for his faith, been imprisoned on many occasions, whose home has been subject to bomb attacks, whose life and those of his family have been threatened, and who nevertheless has never faltered."

Dr. Jahn presented the Nobel insignia and diploma to Dr. King as the audience of several hundred guests stood and applauded. The ceremony, by tradition, takes place on the anniversary of the death in 1896 of Dr. Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite and the donor of the prize. Dr. Nobel was a Swedish citizen.

After Dr. King's acceptance speech the orchestra of the

Norwegian Broadcasting system played excerpts from George Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess." Then King Olav and Crown Prince Harald, who had watched the ceremony from seats in the center of the aisle, stepped forward to congratulate Dr. King.

Among those in the party of 30 accompanying Dr. King to Europe were his father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr., from Atlanta, Ga.; a sister, Mrs. Christine Farris, and a brother, Rev. A. D. King of Birmingham, Ala.

The ceremony of awarding the peace prize is always held in Oslo, although the other Nobel prizes are handed out in Stockholm. According to Dr. Nobel's will, the peace prize winner is selected by a five-member committee that is chosen by the Norwegian Parliament. Recipients of the other prizes are selected by Swedish learned societies.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Burt Phillips*  
*5-Phillips*

UPI-211

(KING)

NEW YORK--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT HE WOULD KEEP A PLEDGE MADE EARLIER AND DONATE HIS \$54,000 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE AWARD MONEY TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

IN A NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, KING SAID \$17,000 WILL BE GIVEN TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS WHICH COMPROMISE THE UNITY COUNCIL. THESE INCLUDE CORE, NAACP, NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, AND THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

HE SAID \$12,000 WILL BE GIVEN TO THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, OF WHICH HE IS PRESIDENT, AND THE BALANCE OF ABOUT \$25,000 WILL BE PLACED IN A FUND TO FURTHER EDUCATION IN NON-VIOLENT TECHNIQUES.

ASKED WHAT IMPACT HIS HAVING RECEIVED THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WOULD HAVE ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, KING DECLARED: "I THINK IT GIVES US TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT WE HAVE THE ROLLING TIDE OF WORLD OPINION ON THE SIDE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT."

KING ALSO SAID HIS ORGANIZATION IS PRESENTLY STUDYING FIRMS AND PRODUCTS "TO CONSIDER CALLING FOR A NATIONWIDE BOYCOTT OF MISSISSIPPI PRODUCTS THAT WOULD SUMMON ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL ACROSS OUR COUNTRY INTO ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE AND HUMAN DIGNITY IN THIS NATION."

HE SAID, HOWEVER, "THERE IS MORE IMMEDIATE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CONGRESS TO SPEAK OUT IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS IN A WAY THAT WOULD REMEDY THAT ROOT CAUSE OF MISSISSIPPI'S INJUSTICES."

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*Martin Luther King*  
*Phillips*

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27 JAN 5 1965

*File 100-106670*

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Mr. Tolson   |  |
| Mr. Belmont  |  |
| Mr. Mohr     |  |
| Mr. DeLoach  |  |
| Mr. Casper   |  |
| Mr. Callahan |  |
| Mr. Conrad   |  |
| Mr. Felt     |  |
| Mr. Gale     |  |
| Mr. Rosen    |  |
| Mr. Sullivan |  |
| Mr. Tavel    |  |
| Mr. Trotter  |  |
| Tele. Room   |  |
| Miss Holmes  |  |
| Miss Gandy   |  |

# DR. KING AWARDED A CITY MEDALLION

## He Is Welcomed Back From Europe by the Mayor

By ROBERT ALDEN

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., returning from Europe after having received the Nobel Peace Prize, received the full honors of the city yesterday.

"This city has officially welcomed many world-renowned figures," Mayor Wagner said at a City Hall ceremony. "I can think of none who has won a more lasting place in the moral epic of America. New York is proud of you, Dr. King."

Vice President-elect Hubert Humphrey and Governor Rockefeller joined in welcoming the civil rights leader back to the country.

### Chamber Is Packed

Addressing a crowd that packed every corner of the City Council Chamber and overflowed into the corridors of City Hall, Dr. King, in a deep voice and measured tones, said:

"I am returning with a deeper conviction that nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time—the need for men to end the oppression and violence of racial persecution, destructive poverty and war without resorting to violence and oppression.

"Yes, our souls have been tried in the cold and bitter Valley Forges of the Deep South, and black and white together, we have met the test. We shall overcome."

The audience, which included Dr. King's mother and father, rose and cheered Dr. King with the kind of roar not often heard in the gilded chamber.

### Medallion of Honor

Mayor Wagner gave to Dr. King the Medallion of Honor of the City of New York, the highest award for a citizen, except for the Medal of Honor, which only heads of state can receive.

Dr. King slipped the medal into the right flap pocket of his dark-blue suit. In the left inside pocket of his jacket was the small, yellow check of the Nobel Prize Committee, made out for 273,000 Swedish kroner (\$54,600).

Later, Dr. King, who had previously announced that he would donate his entire prize to the civil rights movement, specified how he would disburse the money.

The Unity Council, which includes the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund, the National Council of Negro Women, the National Urban League and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, will receive \$17,000.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which Dr. King is president, will receive \$12,000.

### Fund for Education

The balance of \$25,600, he said, will be put in a special fund for the furtherance of education in nonviolence.

At an afternoon press conference, Dr. King said he had been "greatly humbled" by his trip to Oslo, Norway.

"The response to our cause in London, Stockholm and Paris, as well as in Oslo, was far beyond imagination," he said. "These great world capitals look upon racism in this nation with horror and revulsion, but also with a certain amount of hope that Americans can solve this problem and point the way to the rest of the world."

Dr. King said that he would call on the House of Representatives to refuse to seat the entire Mississippi delegation on Jan. 4.

Speaking into a battery of 19 microphones and 14 motion picture and television cameras, he said that an act passed on Feb. 23, 1870, readmitting Mississippi to representation in the Congress after the Civil War, stipulated that all citizens 21 years old or more, who have resided in the state for six months or more and who are neither convicts or insane, be allowed to vote freely.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

37 NEW YORK TIMES

*B. G. Johnson*  
*S. H. Johnson*  
*For Mr. Johnson*  
*Johnson*

Date: 12/18/64  
Edition: LATE CITY  
Author: ROBERT ALDEN  
Editor: CLIFTON DANIEL  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER KING

Character: SM-C  
or  
Classification: BU 100-106670  
Submitting Office: NY  
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47 JAN 5 1965

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"The civil rights leader went on: "Mississippi has deliberately and repeatedly ignored this solemn pact with the nation for more than 50 years and maintained seats to which she is not entitled in an indifferent Congress. These members will be challenged on the opening day of Congress."

#### Economic Boycott

An economic boycott of goods made in Mississippi is being planned, Dr. King said. His staff is making a list of the products to be blacklisted in a campaign that he said would "summon all people of goodwill across our country into active participation in the struggle for justice and human dignity in this nation."

His brow beaded with perspiration from four floodlights in the room at the Waldorf-Astoria where the news conference took place, Dr. King said with earnestness that, if all else failed, "a major confrontation," involving massive civil disobedience, might be necessary in Mississippi.

In the early evening Dr. King, accompanied by his wife, who was by his side throughout the day, was guest of honor at a cocktail party sponsored by the city at the Waldorf. Vice President-elect Humphrey was among the 400 guests.

A gathering of 8,000 persons met later to salute Dr. King at the 369th Artillery Armory, Fifth Avenue and 142d Street. Governor Rockefeller and many leaders of the civil rights movement were among the guests.

Mr. Humphrey told a responsive audience: "We have broken the power of racism in our American society. We have put into retreat the rear guard of a defeated past."



The New York Times

**HONORED BY THE CITY:** The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speaking at City Hall reception yesterday. Dr. King was recently awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Others are, from left: Dr. King's mother; Richard C. Patterson Jr., the city's official greeter; Mayor Wagner and Mrs. King. Dr. King was awarded the city's Medallion of Honor.

SSG LETTER 7/8/75

ITEM # 8

RETAIN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

FROM : A. Rosen

SUBJECT: VOTER REGISTRATION MATTERS  
SELMA, ALABAMA  
CIVIL RIGHTS - ELECTION LAWS

DATE: February 5, 1965

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Hines

|            |       |
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| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
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| Callahan   | _____ |
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| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

*File from Evans - Selma, Alabama*

Evans called to advise that he had just learned that Martin Luther King asked to see the President, the Attorney General and certain members of Congress. He understands the President does not propose to see King but that the Attorney General will probably see him. This is contingent upon how King handles himself between now and the time he asks to see the Attorney General.

*R. W. T. assumed  
MUR  
Q*

*H. J. [unclear]  
[unclear]*

REC-130

*48-25760-79*

AR:hw  
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FEB 8 1965

*C-11*

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FEB 10 1965

56 FEB 12 1965

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 7 1965

SENT BY TELETYPE

|              |       |
|--------------|-------|
| Mr. Tolson   | _____ |
| Mr. Belmont  | _____ |
| Mr. Mohr     | _____ |
| Mr. DeLoach  | _____ |
| Mr. Casper   | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad   | _____ |
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| Mr. Gale     | _____ |
| Mr. Rosen    | _____ |
| Mr. Sullivan | _____ |
| Mr. Tavel    | _____ |
| Mr. Trotter  | _____ |
| Tele. Room   | _____ |
| Miss Holmes  | _____ |
| Miss Gandy   | _____ |

FBI NEW YORK

11-13 PM URGENT 2-7-65 PW

TO DIRECTOR /100-106670/ --4-- - ENCODED

FROM NEW YORK /100-136585 3P

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

~~SM - C~~  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

*5718/10/65*  
*76/10/65*  
*M*

<sup>2/7/65</sup>  
RE NY TELETYPE ~~TWO SEVEN SIXTY FIVE~~ AND NEW YORK TELEPHONE  
CALLS TO BUREAU AND BUREAU TELEPHONE CALLS TO NEW YORK.

~~NY FOUR ZERO NINE NINE DASH S ASTERISK~~ ADVISED THAT

CLARENCE JONES PREPARED PRESS RELEASE FOR MARTIN LUTHER KING ON  
EVENTS IN SELMA, ALABAMA. IT IS NOTED THAT EARLIER IN THE  
AFTERNOON, STANLEY LEVINSON VISITED THE CLARENCE JONES RESIDENCE  
AT REQUEST OF JONES FOR CONSULTATION ON MATTER JONES DID NOT  
WISH TO DISCUSS ON TELEPHONE.

JONES READ THE FOLLOWING PREPARED TEXT TO HARRY WACHTEL FOR  
HIS COMMENTS AND CHANGES..

~~QUOTE~~ RECENT EVENTS IN SELMA, ALABAMA, HAVE DISCLOSED THE  
PERSISTING BARRIERS TO ENFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGROES IN THE SOUTH.

IF THE RATE OF REGISTRATION MANIPULATED IN SELMA WERE TO PREVAIL  
IT WOULD TAKE SEVERAL DECADES TO REGISTER ELEGIBLE NEGROES. THE  
MANDATE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE INTENTION OF CONGRESS ARE

END PAGE ONE

66 FEB 23 1965

~~NO REPLY TO THE DIRECTOR~~

REC-102

100-106670-157

*John G. WA VP + A &*  
*2/8/65 - JWH*

*G*

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PAGE TWO NY /100-136585/

SUBVERTED BY THESE CONDITIONS. THERE IS A CLEAR AND URGENT NEED FOR NEW AND IMPROVED FEDERAL LEGISLATION AND EXECUTIVE ACTION TO ELIMINATE THESE UNDEMOCRATIC BARRIERS. TO PURSUE THIS OBJECTIVE CONFERENCES IN WASHINGTON ARE BEING PLANNED. THE PRESSURE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS HAVE MADE IMPRACTICAL A MONDAY CONFERENCE WITH THE WHITE HOUSE. HOWEVER, ON TUESDAY I WILL BE MEETING WITH VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NEWLY FORMED COUNCIL FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, NICHOLAS DE KATZENBACH. FOLLOWING THE PRELIMINARY EXPLORATIONS OF THE ISSUE., PLANS WILL BE MADE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION ON APPROPRIATE LEVELS WHERE THE PROGRAMS WE BELIEVE TO BE INDISPENSABLE FOR SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS CAN BE EXAMINED UNQUOTE.

WITH THE AGREEMENT OF JONES, WACHTEL THEN MADE THE FOLLOWING CHANGES..

FIRST FOUR SENTENCES OF TEXT REMAINED THE SAME WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE SUBSTITUTIONS OF QUOTE EXPANDED LAW ENFORCEMENT UNQUOTE FOR QUOTE EXECUTIVE ACTION UNQUOTE. REVISED TEXT CONTINUES...  
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE NY /100-136585/

QUOTE TO PURSUE THIS OBJECTIVE CONFERENCES IN WASHINGTON HAVE BEEN SCHEDULED. THE PRESSURE OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS HAVE MADE IMPRACTICAL THE SCHEDULED MONDAY CONFERENCES. HOWEVER, ON TUESDAY I WILL BE MEETING WITH VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY IN HIS NEW CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NEWLY CREATED COUNCIL FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL, NICHOLAS DE KATZENBACH. I AM IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE WHITE HOUSE CONCERNING A POSSIBLE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT. WHILE THERE ARE NO DEFINITE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH A MEETING I AM HOPEFUL THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD ON TUESDAY ~~WEDNESDAY~~. LAST SENTENCE OF PRESS RELEASE IS UNCHANGED.

ND

WA LRA

FBI WASH DC

CC-MR. ROSEN

February 8, 1965

**GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION**

Martin Luther King, Jr., Andrew Young and Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference planned to take a chartered plane from Montgomery, Ala., to Washington, D. C., at 4:00 p.m., 2/9/65, to meet with Attorney General Katzenbach and Vice-president Humphrey. Atlanta source advised that arrangements had also been made for King to meet with President Johnson, however, the meeting with the President was to receive no publicity.

The press release mentioned states that King and his group will meet with the Vice-president and the Attorney General on Tuesday, 2/9/65, to discuss the need for new and improved Federal legislation and expanded law enforcement to eliminate undemocratic barriers in voting procedures. The White House, the Vice-president and the Attorney General are being advised by letters.

JWH/ras

*RWMT*

*... for dissemination  
... proceedings by  
... to unauthorized person*



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

*at on*  
*Feb*  
*Jan 11*  
*Key*

FBI NEW YORK

8-20 PM URGENT 2-7-65 PW

TO DIRECTOR /100-106670/ --2-- - ENCODED

FROM NEW YORK /100-136585/

I  
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

~~SM - C~~  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

*M. J. [unclear]*  
*5*  
*6-7*  
*[unclear]*  
*[unclear]*

<sup>217/65</sup>  
ON TWO SEVEN SIXTY FIVE, NY FOUR ZERO NINE NINE DASH S

ASTERISK ADVISED THAT HARRY WACHTEL CONTACTED CLARENCE JONES AND ADVISED HE HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH LEE PAREN (WHITE) END PAREN AT THE WHITE HOUSE ABOUT MARTIN LUTHER KING-S COMING TRIP TO WASHINGTON. WACHTEL SAID THIS TRIP HAS OPENED UP A HORNET-S NEST FOR THE PRESIDENT, AND KING-S STATEMENT ABOUT A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO BE VERY CAREFULLY WORDED. WHITE HOUSE WOULD LIKE CERTAIN WORDS SUCH AS ~~QUOTE~~ "NOT DEFINITE" ~~UNQUOTE~~, ~~QUOTE~~ "HOPEFUL" ~~UNQUOTE~~ AND ~~QUOTE~~ "IN VIEW OF CIRCUMSTANCES" ~~UNQUOTE~~ USED BY KING IN HIS STATEMENT ABOUT MEETING PRESIDENT.

*[unclear]*  
*[unclear]*  
*[unclear]*

WACHTEL SAID KING WILL ACTUALLY SEE THE PRESIDENT SOMETIME AFTER KING-S MEETING ON TUESDAY WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND ATTORNEY GENERAL, BUT THIS FACT MUST BE KEPT IN COMPLETE SECRECY. IF

END PAGE ONE

*100-106670-822*

REC-130

FEB 10 1965

FEB 16 1965

MR. CLERK FOR HIS SUPERIOR

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PAGE TWO NY /100-136585/

IT GETS OUT, THEN PRESIDENT WILL NOT SEE KING. WACHTEL IS NOT HAPPY OVER ALTERNATIVES THIS LEAVES THEM. WACHTEL ALSO SAID HE HATES TO SEE VIETNAM CRISIS BUT AT LEAST IT SHOWS ~~NOTE~~ " " ~~WACHTEL~~ DID NOT LIE YESTERDAY. WACHTEL WAS TOLD NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXPECTS TO MEET ON MONDAY AND TUESDAY. WACHTEL SAID THAT NOW KING KNOWS, WHEN HE IS DEALING WITH THE PRESIDENT, HE IS NOT DEALING WITH A FRIEND, BUT WITH A TEXAN. LATER JONES CONTACTED WACHTEL AND READ TEXT OF PRESS RELEASE HE PREPARED FOR KING, AND WACHTEL DELETED ALL REFERENCES TO A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT.

END

WA 8-JMS

FBI WASH DC

CC-MR. ROSEN

SECRET

The Attorney General

February 8, 1965

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Hines

REGISTRARS OF VOTERS  
 DALLAS COUNTY, ALABAMA  
 VOTING DISCRIMINATION  
 CIVIL RIGHTS - ELECTION LAWS

I am enclosing the attached memorandum containing information relating to the proposed trip of Martin Luther King, Jr., to Washington, D. C., on February 9, 1965, which may be of interest to you. The information was furnished by sources who have supplied reliable information in the past.

A copy of the attached memorandum has been furnished to the White House and to the Vice President.

Enclosure

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)
- 1 - Mr. John Doar (Enclosure)  
Acting Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General

44-12831-389

REC-9

REC'D READING ROOM  
 FEB 9 1965  
 30 PM '65

JWH/pak (13)

ENCLOSURE

MAILED 2  
 FEB 8 - 1965  
 COMM-FBI

SECRET

Upon removal of classified enclosure, this transmittal form becomes unclassified.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: Classified Secret because the information was obtained from highly sensitive sources who are of continuing value and the unauthorized disclosure of this information could impair the security of the sources and thus do possible injury to the national defense. The sources who furnished the information are Atlanta 1379-S\* and NY-4099-S\*.

TESUR

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

FEB 10 1965

SECRET

*Handwritten notes and signatures at top right.*

February 8, 1965

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Hines

Honorable Marvin Watson  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

I thought the President would be interested in the information set forth in the attached memorandum which was furnished by sources who have supplied reliable information in the past.

A copy of the attached memorandum has also been furnished to the Vice President and the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

REC'D-READING ROOM  
 B I  
 FEB 8 2 30 PM '65

Enclosure

JWH/pak  
(10)

NOTE: Classified Secret because the information was obtained from highly sensitive sources who are of continuing value and the unauthorized disclosure of this information could impair the security of the sources and thus do possible injury to the national defense. The sources **SECRET** who furnished the information are Atlanta-1379-S\* and NY-4099-S\*.

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- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- DeLoach
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TSUR

REC-118

100-10667083

FEB 11 1965

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

SECRET

To: Tolson  
2/19/65

February 8, 1965

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Hines

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey  
The Vice President  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

I am enclosing the attached memorandum containing information relating to the proposed trip of Martin Luther King, Jr., to Washington, D. C., on February 9, 1965, which may be of interest to you. The information was furnished by sources who have supplied reliable information in the past.

A copy of the attached memorandum has been furnished to the White House and to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI  
FEB 11 2 30 PM '65

Enclosure  
JWH/pak  
(10)

NOTE: Classified Secret because the information was obtained from highly sensitive sources who are of continuing value and the unauthorized disclosure of this information could impair the security of the sources and thus do possible injury to the national

SECRET

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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defense. The sources who furnished the information are Atlanta 1379-S\* and NY4099-S\*

58 FEB 16 1965

This document is prepared in response to your request and is for dissemination only to the Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the Committee. The content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

MAIL ROOM

February 8, 1965

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

A confidential source has advised that Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Andrew Young, Executive Director of SCLC, and Ralph Abernathy, Treasurer of SCLC, plan to take a chartered plane from Montgomery, Alabama, to Washington, D. C., at 4:00 p.m. on February 9, 1965, to meet with Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach. It was indicated that arrangements had also been made for King to meet with President Lyndon B. Johnson after the meeting with Mr. Katzenbach; however, the meeting with the President is to receive no publicity. King and his companions were expected to be in Washington, D. C., during the night of February 9, 1965, and they will return to Selma, Alabama, on February 10, 1965.

Another confidential source has advised that Harry Wachtel, a close adviser to King who was a member of the National Lawyers Guild, which organization was described as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives, on February 7, 1965, was in contact with Clarence Jones, another close adviser to King who in the mid-1950's was a member of the Labor Youth League, which organization has been designated as subversive pursuant to E. O. 10450.

Wachtel said that he had been in touch with Lee White of the White House about King's coming trip to Washington, D. C. Wachtel said the trip has opened up a hornet's nest for the President and King's statement about a meeting with the President will have to be very carefully worded. Wachtel said the White House would like certain words, such as "not definite," "hopeful" and "in view of circumstances" used by King in his statement about meeting the President.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWH/mmb  
 (16)

SECRET  
 Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

44-12831-389

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

76

SECRET

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Wachtel said King would actually see the President sometime after King's meeting on Tuesday, February 9, 1965, with the Vice President and the Attorney General but that fact must be kept in complete secrecy. Wachtel said that if the fact should become known, then the President will not see King. Wachtel indicated that he was not happy over the alternatives this leaves them.

Wachtel mentioned that he hates to see the Vietnam crises and said he was told that the National Security Council expects to meet on Monday and Tuesday. Wachtel said that now King knows, when he is dealing with the President, he is not dealing with a friend, but a Texan.

Jones read to Wachtel the prepared text for a press release concerning King's visit to Washington, D. C., which is set forth as follows with corrections suggested by Wachtel.

"Recent events in Selma, Alabama, have disclosed the persisting barriers to enfranchisement of Negroes in the South. If the rate of registration manipulated in Selma were to prevail, it would take several decades to register eligible Negroes. The mandate of the American people and the intention of Congress are subverted by these conditions. There is a clear and urgent need for new and improved Federal legislation and expanded law enforcement to eliminate these undemocratic barriers. To pursue this objective, conferences in Washington have been scheduled. The pressure of international developments have made impractical the scheduled Monday conferences. However, on Tuesday I will be meeting with Vice-President Humphrey in his new capacity as chairman of the newly created Council for Equal Opportunity and with Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach. I am in communication with the White House concerning a possible meeting with the President. While there are no definite arrangements for such a meeting, I am hopeful that such a conference will be held on Tuesday. Following the preliminary explorations of the issue, plans will be made for further discussion on appropriate levels where the programs we believe to be indispensable for solution of problems can be examined."

SECRET

- 2 -

February 8, 1965

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Hines
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

*Personally delivered 2/8/65*

*Special*

Honorable Marvin Watson  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

With reference to my letter to you earlier this date, there is set forth in the attached memorandum additional information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr. 's, proposed trip to Washington, D. C., on February 9, 1965, which might be of interest to the President. This information was furnished by a source who has supplied reliable information in the past.

A copy of the attached memorandum has also been furnished to the Vice President and the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

REC-64

*100-106500-808*

REC'D - READING ROOM  
 FEB 9 1965  
 FEB 8 5 51 PM '65

Enclosure

JWH/cac  
 (11) *cat* **RESUR**

NOTE: Classified Secret because the information was obtained from NY-4212-S\*, a highly sensitive source who is of continuing value and the unauthorized disclosure **SECRET** of this information could impair the security of the source and thus do possible injury to the national defense.

Upon removal of classified enclosure this transmittal letter becomes unclassified.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
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- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
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- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*7*

**FEB 16 1965**

**ENCLOSURE**

TELETYPE UNIT



February 8, 1965

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

A confidential source advised on February 8, 1965, that Bayard Rustin, a former member of the Young Communist League, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to E. O. 10450, Harry Wachtel, a close adviser to King who was a member of the National Lawyers Guild, which organization was described as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives, and Jack Greenberg, Director of the Legal Defense Fund, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have reservations aboard American Airlines flight number 375 for Washington, D. C., February 8, 1965, to depart New York City at 5:30 p. m.

According to Rustin, Martin Luther King, Jr., will meet with some Congressional leaders and with the Attorney General on February 9, 1965. Rustin said their position will be to demand enactment of a civil rights bill in 1965 guaranteeing the right to vote.

The source advised that Wachtel was in contact with Rustin on February 8, 1965, regarding King's trip to Washington where King will arrive at Friendship Airport at 1:50 p. m. on February 9, 1965. He will go from Friendship Airport to attend a conference with the Attorney General. A press conference will also be held by King on February 9, 1965.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWH/cac  
(17)

*Chu*

*Sam*

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

SECRET  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

100-11-808

S E C R E T

The Attorney General

February 8, 1965

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Hines
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

REGISTRARS OF VOTERS  
 DALLAS COUNTY, ALABAMA  
 VOTING DISCRIMINATION  
 CIVIL RIGHTS ELECTION LAWS

3-

With reference to my letter to you earlier on this date, I am enclosing the attached memorandum containing additional information relating to the proposed trip of Martin Luther King, Jr., to Washington, D. C., on February 9, 1965, which may be of interest to you. The information was furnished by a source who has supplied reliable information in the past.

A copy of the attached memorandum has been furnished to the White House and to the Vice President.

Enclosure

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)
- 1 - Mr. John Doar (Enclosure)  
Acting Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI  
FEB 9 5 51 PM '65

*[Handwritten mark]*

JWH/pak  
(14)

MAILED  
FEB 8 - 1965  
COMM-FBI

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

S E C R E T

Upon removal of classified enclosure, this transmittal form becomes unclassified.

44-12831-390

*[Handwritten initials]*

NOTE: Classified Secret because the information was obtained from NY 4212-S\*, a highly sensitive source who is of continuing value and the unauthorized disclosure of this information could impair the security of the source and thus do possible injury to the nation defense.

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*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

FEB 9 1965

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

SECRET

February 8, 1965

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWH/cac  
(17)

RW

SECRET  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

808

To: Tolson  
1/9/65

February 8, 1965

BY LIAISON

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Hines
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey  
The Vice President  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Vice President:

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A copy of the attached memorandum has been furnished to the White House and to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours, REC-118 100-106670-814

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

EX 109

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

FEB 9 5 51 PM '65

FEB 10 1965

Enclosure

JWH/bec  
(11) bec

NOTE: Classified "Secret" because the information was obtained from NY-424-S\*, a highly sensitive source who is of continuing value, and the unauthorized disclosure of this

**S E C R E T**

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- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
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58 FEB 16 1965

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

SECRET

February 8, 1965

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWH/cac  
(17) *cac*

*[Handwritten signature]*

SECRET  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

808

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN *McGowan*

DATE: February 9, 1965

FROM : MR. D. E. MOORE *Moore*

cc Mr. Sullivan  
 Mr. McGowan  
 Mr. F.J. Baumgardner  
 Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SCLC, IS-C

*Phillips*  
*S. Phillips*

Special Agent Charles Harding, Atlanta, telephonically advised at 2:10 PM today that King had missed his Delta Airlines flight for Dulles International Airport this afternoon and was still in Atlanta at the time of Harding's call.

SA Harding advised that King was traveling to Washington by a chartered flight this afternoon, but it was not known as yet what time the flight would leave Atlanta and arrive at Dulles Airport. Harding said it was not known definitely where King was staying in Washington, but he had made mention of the Statler-Hilton although prior indications were that he might be staying at the International House. Harding advised that he was calling in the event we had any coverage of King contemplated.

ACTION

For record purposes.

DEM:td (5)

*JD*

*100-106670-831*

REC-109

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_

10 FEB 12 1965

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

*100-106670*  
FEB 18 1965

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Mohr

DATE: 2/18/65

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Bland

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Ryan

1 - Mr. Phillips

|            |       |
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| Tele. Room | _____ |
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9-17P 3-3-65  
Link w/R King 3-4-65

This informative memorandum reports high lights of recent pertinent conversations between Martin Luther King, Jr., and some of his associates having communist backgrounds, as furnished by our reliable, sensitive sources.

### King's Conferences With President, Vice President and Attorney General 2/9/65

Bayard Rustin told a confidante of his that while in Washington, D.C. with King for conferences with President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey and Attorney General Katzenbach on 2/9/65 he, Rustin, wrote all of King's material and kept "everyone in line." Rustin boasted that following conferences he was stopped by Humphrey and complimented for his "great contribution to the conference." Humphrey told him that he could contact him at any time and went so far as to introduce his (Humphrey's) assistant as the man Rustin should contact about an appointment. Humphrey said to Rustin "I think you are a valuable person in our country and we must keep in touch."

Comment: The Vice President has already been briefed concerning Rustin's communist background and record as a homosexual. We cannot of course, discount completely the possibility that Rustin's remarks were an exaggeration to impress his listener.

### King and Negro-Jewish Relations

King has advised his close advisor Clarence Jones that he had accepted two speaking engagements. One is to address the Women's Division of the United Jewish Appeal 3/4/65 at New York City. The other would be an address before the American Jewish Committee 5/20/65, New York City. At the March affair King is to be given the Eleanor Roosevelt Award. King indicates that Jones and "our friend", (probable reference to Stanley Levison) could work on the speeches. King told Jones that he had accepted these engagements because some of his Rabbi friends have been telling him that Jews were not supporting the civil rights movement. King believes this is in part due to anti-Semitic statements being made by Negroes such as Malcolm X (the Muslim leader). King thought it would help improve the situation if he spoke before these groups.

REC-3 100-106670-917 MAR 3 1965

Comment: We are having the field attempt to verify any actual participation by Levison in the preparation of speeches for King's dissemination in response to your request and is no longer disseminated in response to your request. Its use is limited to official proceedings by the American Jewish Committee and its content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

79 MAR 4 100-106670

1 - 100-442529 (CITIZEN)

CONTINUED

Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

King's Fund-raising Activities.

King told Jones that he would be in California 2/25-27/65 to attend a big fund-raising project. It will include a showing of the movie "The Greatest Story Ever Told" and it would "scare the house of about \$28,000." In addition, there are two or three wealthy people trying to get 50 couples to give \$1,000 (presumably each couple) and they have 26 commitments already. King claimed that his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), needs the money desperately. They also discussed a group in New Rochelle, New York, which King said already had \$5,000 and desired to use it for a fund-raising project to earn even more. Jones told King that the advertisement which appeared in "The New York Times" 2/5/65 soliciting funds on behalf of the SCLC cost \$2,000. King said that his office had already received \$12,000 as a result of this advertisement.

Friction Between King and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

In discussing the current racial situation in Alabama, King told Jones that SNCC was again saying that King likes to come into a situation at the last minute, get all the publicity and the benefit of contributions. SNCC claims that King makes "grandstand plays" after SNCC has done all the field work. King asked Jones if something could be done about this through Harry Belafonte (noted Negro singer). According to Jones, Belafonte is about the only person that SNCC will listen to and that he has heard Belafonte stop SNCC workers who tried to attack King's integrity. King said that he did not like for SNCC to fight against the idea of having a leader for the whole movement. King stated that the movement must have a leader because any ideology is fostered around having a leader around whom supporters can rally. Jones believes that he can arrange an unpublicized meeting between SNCC, SCLC and Belafonte.

Comment: The naked boldness of King's egotism is vividly reflected in his pronouncements about the movement needing a leader (obviously King himself).

RECOMMENDATION:

This is for your information. We are disseminating this information to the Department and the intelligence community.

*B* *W* *Q* *SNCC*  
*W* *also to Watson.*  
*H*



SECRET

The Attorney General

February 23, 1965

Director, FBI

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - Mohr
- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Rosen
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Phillips

Confidential sources of this Bureau who have supplied reliable information in the past have furnished the following information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

Bayard Rustin recently told a confidante of his that while in Washington, D. C., with Martin Luther King, Jr., for conferences with the President, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, and Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach on February 9, 1965, he, Rustin, wrote all of King's material and kept "everyone in line." Rustin said that following the conferences he was stopped by the Vice President and complimented for his "great contribution to the conference." The Vice President told Rustin that Rustin could contact him at any time and said, "I think you are a valuable person in our country and we must keep in touch." Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The following matters were recently revealed during contacts between King and Clarence Jones. Jones is a close advisor to King and, in the mid-1950's, held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. King told Jones that he had accepted two speaking engagements before Jewish groups in New York City. On March 4, 1965, King will address the Women's Division of the United Jewish Appeal and on May 20, 1965, King will address the American Jewish Committee. King told Jones that he had accepted these engagements because some of his rabbi friends have been telling him that Jewish people were not supporting the civil rights movement. King believes that this is in part due to anti-Semitic statements made by Negroes such as Malcolm X Little. King, therefore, thought that it would help improve the situation if he spoke

before these groups, Little was a black nationalist leader who advocated the use of violence in the civil rights struggle. He was assassinated on February 21, 1965.

100-106670

SFP:hbl:kab

(13)

SECRET

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

19 FEB 24 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
MAILED  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions  
FEB 24 1965  
COMM-FBI

- Toison \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

9 FEB 25 1965

## The Attorney General

King told Jones that King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, needs money desperately. King is to be in California February 13-27, 1965, to attend a large fund-raising project which will include a showing of the movie "The Greatest Story Ever Told." King expects to obtain about \$28,000 from this affair. Jones told King that the advertisement which appeared in a New York City newspaper February 5, 1965, soliciting funds on behalf of King's organization cost \$2,000. King replied that his office had already received \$12,000 as a result of this advertisement.

King and Jones discussed friction which exists between King and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. According to King, the Committee is claiming that King likes to come into a situation such as that presently existing in Alabama, get all the publicity and the benefit of contributions, and thus capitalize on all the field work of the Committee. In order to alleviate the situation between King and the Committee, King and Jones discussed the possibility of having Harry Belafonte, a noted Negro singer, act as an intermediary. According to Jones, Belafonte is about the only person that the Committee will listen to and Belafonte is a supporter of King. Jones plans to arrange an unpublicized meeting between Belafonte, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

This information is also being furnished to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. John Doar  
Acting Assistant Attorney General

SECRET

The Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" because the sources for this information, such as <sup>ELSR</sup> NY 4212-S\* and <sup>AT/1379</sup> AT/1379-S\*, are highly sensitive sources of continuing value relative to King and the racial situation. The unauthorized disclosure of the information could endanger the sources' security and thus possibly do injury to the defense interests of the nation.

Foregoing information reported in memorandum 2/18/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan, re "King" SFP:kao. The memorandum noted that dissemination was being made to the Department and the intelligence community. The Director instructed "Also to Watson." Separate dissemination is being made to the intelligence community.

SECRET

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
  - 1 - Mr. Mohr
  - 1 - Mr. DeLoach
  - 1 - Mr. Rosen
  - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- February 23, 1965

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Phillips

Honorable Marvin Watson.  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

Confidential sources of this Bureau who have supplied reliable information in the past have furnished the following information which may be of interest to the President.

Bayard Rustin recently told a confidante of his that while in Washington, D. C., with Martin Luther King, Jr., for conferences with the President, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach on February 9, 1965, he, Rustin, wrote all of King's material and kept "everyone in line." Rustin said that following the conferences he was stopped by the Vice President and complimented for his "great contribution to the conference." The Vice President told Rustin that Rustin could contact him at any time and said "I think you are a valuable person in our country and we must keep in touch." Rustin is a former member of the Young Communist League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The following matters were recently revealed during contacts between King and Clarence Jones. Jones is a close advisor to King and in the mid-1950's held a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. King told Jones that he had accepted two speaking engagements before Jewish groups in New York City. On March 4, 1965, King will address the Women's Division of the United Jewish Appeal and on May 29, 1965, King will address the American Jewish Committee. King told Jones that he had accepted these engagements because some of his rabbi friends have been telling him that Jewish people were not supporting the civil rights movement.

- Olson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-106670  
 SFP:hbl:kab  
 (9)  
 SEE NOTE PAGE  
 THREE

REC-18

SECRET  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure

Subject to Criminal Sanctions

FEB 26 1965

906

MAR 4 1965

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

SECRET

Honorable Marvin Watson:

~~King believes that this is in part due to anti-Semitic statements made by Negroes such as Malcolm X Little. King, therefore, thought that it would help improve the situation if he spoke before these groups. Little was a black nationalist leader who advocated the use of violence in the civil rights struggle. He was assassinated on February 21, 1965.~~

King told Jones that King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, needs money desperately. King is to be in California February 25-27, 1965, to attend a large fund-raising project which will include a showing of the movie, "The Greatest Story Ever Told." King expects to obtain about \$28,000 from this affair. Jones told King that the advertisement which appeared in a New York City newspaper February 5, 1965, soliciting funds on behalf of King's organization cost \$2,000. King replied that his office had already received \$12,000 as a result of this advertisement.

*Calif*  
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This information is also being furnished\* to the Attorney General and interested officials of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely yours,

SECRET

SECRET

Honorable Marvin Watson

NOTE:

*ECSUR* *ELSUR*  
Classified "Secret" because the sources for this information, such as NY 4212-S\* and AT 1079-S\*, are highly sensitive sources of continuing value relative to King and the racial situation. The unauthorized disclosure of the information could endanger the sources' security and thus possibly do injury to the defense interests of the nation.

Foregoing information reported in memorandum 2/18/65 from F. J. Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan, re "King" SFP:kao. The memorandum noted that dissemination was being made to the Department and the intelligence community. The Director instructed "Also to Watson." Separate dissemination is being made to the intelligence community.

SECRET

- 3 -

SSC LETTER 7/8/75  
ITEM # 15

*Retain*

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

10:23AM June 20, 1969

*15*  
MARION GOLDEN, CBS Morning News New York, telephoned from New York City, and asked to speak to the Director. She was offered the services of Assistant Director Bishop which she accepted.

Mr. Bishop advised that Miss Golden carried on her program charges of former Attorney Generals Ramsey Clark and Nicholas Katzenbach that the FBI had repeatedly asked them to make a wiretap on Martin Luther King. She called to invite Director or an FBI spokesman to answer these charges. She was advised that the FBI had no comment to make and that the June 19, 1969, edition of the Evening Star speaks for itself.

- ✓ MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. DELOACH \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. MOHR \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. BISHOP \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. CASPER \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. CALLAHAN \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. CONRAD \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. FELT \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. GALE \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. SULLIVAN \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. TAVEL \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. TROTTER \_\_\_\_\_
- MR. JONES \_\_\_\_\_
- TELE. ROOM \_\_\_\_\_
- MISS HOLMES \_\_\_\_\_
- MRS. METCALF \_\_\_\_\_
- MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

*right*  
REC-3 1100

3601

ped

ST-117

JUN 23 1969

*Take*

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside the Commission. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and its content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

*20*  
70 JUN 25 1969



The Attorney General

June 19, 1969

Director, FBI

ARTICLE FROM THE JUNE 19, 1969 ISSUE OF "THE EVENING STAR," WASHINGTON, D. C. ENTITLED "KING WIRETAP CALLED RFK'S IDEA"

Enclosed is a copy of an article which appeared in today's edition of "The Evening Star."

Enclosure

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Rosen - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure

HCS:cae (10)

ST-117 REC-11

JUN 20 1969

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

MAILED 3  
JUN 19 1969  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

5 JUN 24 1969

TELETYPE UNIT

*W. J. Williams 4718*

# King Wiretap Called RFK's Idea

## Hoover Cites 2 Memos Giving Authority to FBI

(Copyright 1969 by  
The Evening Star Newspaper Co.)  
By JEREMIAH O'LEARY  
Star Staff Writer

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover today disclosed that wiretapping of the Rev. Martin Luther King's telephone was proposed by then Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy to FBI officials in June 1963 and carried out with the signed authorization of Kennedy a few months later.

Hoover said the FBI has in its files two memorandums which make it clear that Kennedy conceived the idea of the wiretap on King and subsequently authorized the bureau to proceed with the wiretapping on Oct. 10, 1963.

Kennedy initiated the idea for the tap in a conversation with Courtney Evans, then assistant director of the FBI and liaison officer between the agency and the Justice Department, Hoover told The Star today.

### Memorandum Cited

Hoover said the FBI has a memorandum in its files from Evans to Hoover, dated in June, 1963. Evans reported that Kennedy said he was concerned about allegations that King was a student and believer in Marxism. Kennedy, according to the Evans memorandum, expressed concern that Marxism might infiltrate the race issue in the United States because of King's leadership of Negroes through his Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Evans reported in the memo to the FBI director, Hoover said, that the attorney general was alarmed by alleged associations between King and a New Yorker with Marxist connections. Kennedy asked Evans, the memorandum said, whether

it would be possible to install electronic devices to monitor King's conversations in an effort to discover the extent of a possible threat to national security.

According to Evans' memo, the liaison man told Kennedy there were technical difficulties in installing such devices in the case of the Negro leader because he was a man who was almost constantly traveling.

Hoover told The Star that the FBI also told Kennedy at the time that they questioned the advisability of undertaking the electronic surveillance because of possible political repercussions.

On October 7, 1963, however, following subsequent discussions Hoover said he sent a memorandum to the Attorney General in which he reported that it was now technically feasible to apply telephone wire taps to King's telephone at SCLC headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., and at an unnamed address in New York City. This was, in effect, a request for authorization to proceed, the director said.

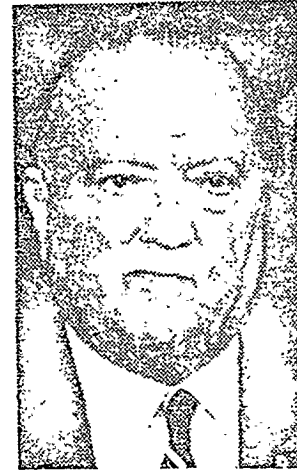
Dated October, 1963

That Hoover memorandum bears the signature of "Robert F. Kennedy" in the lower left-hand corner over the handwritten date "10-10-63."

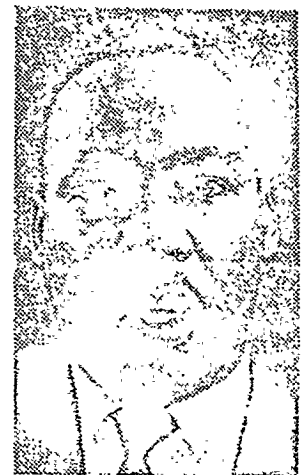
Hoover made the bombshell disclosure today as the climax to a long series of charges and counter-charges involving Justice Department officials, the FBI and Star columnist Carl Rowan over the manner in which the conversations of King were intercepted and taped by the Bureau.

Rowan charged in a column Sunday that the FBI had no authority to wiretap or bug Dr. King's conversations and quoted former Attorney General Ramsey Clark as saying "the implication that people thought Dr. King was a security threat is outrageous."

The following day, Associate FBI Director Clyde A. Tolson wrote a letter to Rowan in which he stated that the official wiretapping on King had the advance approval of Kennedy.



J. EDGAR HOOVER



SEN. ROBERT F. KENNEDY MARTIN LUTHER KING

"The Evening Star"  
Washington, D. C.  
June 19, 1969

3600

ENCLOSURE

11:06 AM

June 19, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. DE LOACH  
MR. SULLIVAN  
MR. BISHOP

AD -  
M. AIL.

Mr. Newbold Noyes, Editor of The Evening Star called. He said he thanked me very much for talking to him because he knew this was an unusual kind of thing to have happen.

He said he wanted to ask me very seriously, but he was sure I was familiar with this and given thought to it already, but he wanted to report on the basis of their story that was run yesterday about the authorization that the FBI had from Mr. Robert Kennedy, to release the King material; that they are getting a great deal of static from people who are telling them -- they say they have this authorization, but they don't release it and don't show what the documents are and many of these documents that have been released in the past are fuzzy and don't really show there was clear authorization to do this and in general there is a nondisposition on the part of the readers to accept the idea that Bob Kennedy actually did authorize the tapping of King's phone. He said, "Now I just want to ask you as seriously as I can to release those documents. You have them. They do show, I presume, exactly what you say."

I told Mr. Noyes that he authorized it in his own handwriting on October 10, 1963; it was installed November 8, 1963, and discontinued April 30, 1965. I told Mr. Noyes that, as a matter of fact, when Kennedy was Attorney General he requested that the telephones of Dr. King be covered by electronic device and was persuaded by our people not to do it in view of the possible repercussions, then later he changed his mind and delayed bringing the matter up again until in October the authority was signed by him in his own handwriting and it gave us the authority to do it and we discontinued it on April 30, 1965, under the administration of Attorney General Katzenbach. Mr. Noyes said he understood and asked if they could report this. I told him he could report what I have said to him. I told him the reason I was drawing a

- on \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JEH:edm (8)

REC 9 94-5-27-868

302 XEROX

AUG 4 1969

AUG 5 1969 ST 104

79 AUG 12 1969

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Sullivan, Bishop June 19, 1969

line on this is that Mr. Tolson wrote (Carl) Rowan about his slanderous column last Sunday and he, Rowan, wrote back in which he asked a series of eight or nine questions, such as, did we tap the telephone of a half dozen leaders like Wilkins of the NAACP, Farmer, eight or nine others, Abernathy; or if we had tapped the phones of a Congressman; and various other things. Mr. Noyes said he was not asking all that. I told him he could certainly print what I say because we are writing back to Rowan today that since he did not seek any facts before printing his column, he was not entitled to any information from us at this time, but as to the question he has asked, the dates that these wiretaps were on, I have the original copy of it on my desk. It was signed by Kennedy in his own handwriting on October 10, 1963.

Mr. Noyes said if I had one minute, could he repeat back to me what he understood I had said to him so there would be no misunderstanding and also could he tell me that he was adding into it some details that he thought they already understood about this from other sources they have talked to.

He said it was his understanding that in June, 1963, Mr. Kennedy did suggest through a liaison man that he had with me, that I should keep an eye on Martin Luther King because of his association with people that he, Robert Kennedy, was concerned about and he, Noyes, was particularly talking about Stanley Levinson and a fellow named Jones, both of whom were supposed to be of Marxist leanings and that the Attorney General was concerned about King's relations with these people and he thought it might be a good idea to put an electronic surveillance device of some type into the picture to see what he was doing; that the FBI suggested at that time that this would be a difficult thing to do because of the fact that King traveled around so much and there were a lot of political repercussions that might result; but then subsequently on the 7th of November (and I corrected him and told him October 7, 1963) -- on October 7, 1963, I reported, and this is a memorandum from me to the Attorney General, a four-paragraph document, that I had determined the feasibility of establishing taps on the telephones of the SCLC headquarters at Atlanta and New York and if he authorized it, I was prepared to go ahead and do it and that came back to me, the memorandum, with his initials. I told him with his full name, Robert F. Kennedy. Mr. Noyes continued - o.k., 'd by him, dating that 10/10/63. I told Mr. Noyes that was correct.

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Sullivan, Bishop      June 19, 1969

Mr. Noyes continued that it was his understanding that I had no objection to his using this -- is it o.k. for them to identify the FBI as the source or flatly say it on their own. I told him I would rather he flatly said it on his own, but I anticipate similar requests from other sources that I would not be as frank with as I have been with him. Mr. Noyes said o.k.; that he thought this is a wise thing for me to do.

He said if I had one more minute, he would like to tell me one reason why he happened to be interested in this thing. He said he had some young people with whom he was friendly who were involved in a wedding this weekend and the boys and girls all ended up at his house after the thing and he did not know whether they had read Rowan's column, but they were talking about the fact how dreadful it was that the FBI would have presumed to tap the phone or keep an eye on Martin Luther King, a great hero. He said after listening to this for about an hour and a half, he told them to hold on a minute, that it was his understanding that the Bureau had been checking on King because there had been allegations that he had been in touch with recognized or potential communist agents and the reason nothing was ever released or done about it was that after checking into it, they became satisfied there was nothing dangerous and he asked them what they would think of a Government that did not check into information that seemed to show that communist agents were trying to work on a man in Martin Luther King's position. He said these kids listened and were astounded that there might be another side to it, and he was telling me that this was taken by Bobby Kennedy from the point of view of the generation gap. Mr. Noyes said he thought this is an important story. I said he became a kind of Messiah for the generation gap and individuals who were pro-King and still are.

I told Mr. Noyes that as to the matter of electronic installations, I have never authorized an electronic installation of any kind at any time except with written approval of the then Attorney General and that goes right down to today. I said I do not have authority to do it myself and I do not want it as I feel the Attorney General should be the one to approve or not approve electronic surveillances and we use it only in internal security cases and now in organized crime. I said in organized crime, the authority has to be obtained from the courts under the McClellan bill and in security cases -- espionage, communist activities -- that is approved by the Attorney General, which is

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Sullivan, Bishop June 19, 1969

allowed under the McClellan Bill. I continued that the Rowan article indicated we were promiscuously continuing this sort of thing without regard to restrictions or regard to authority, so the truth of the matter is, I have never ever authorized the installation of a technical electronic device except with the approval of the Attorney General in writing and we have on file the original documents that support that statement.

Mr. Noyes said that when he first asked me, I said it was all right to cite the Bureau for the authority and then I indicated I would rather have it come from them directly. He said if, in order to give this the authority it should have, it is necessary for him to cite me for the authority for some of this, is that o.k. with me. I told him that normally I would say no; that I would defer to his judgement because he knows more about the matter of public relations and public reaction. I told him I have been astounded at the reaction on this thing. I said some of these magazines, like Newsweek, which is owned by the Washington Post, carried the Cassius Clay testimony in Texas where he is on trial and where the use of the electronic device was exposed, and they stated the Agent testified the taps were continued until King's death. I said that is untrue and the Agent did not so testify. I said in the King case, it was discontinued April 30, 1965. I told Mr. Noyes that if he thought it would be to the best interest of public relations in clearing up any really serious doubts newspaper people have, I would have no objection to being quoted.

Mr. Noyes said he thanked me and he thought I was making a wise decision in letting it come out. He said he thought it may be one of the most important stories of the year.

I told Mr. Noyes that when I read the Sunday paper and Rowan's article I thought here is an individual who is a Messiah of the dissident left, of which Rowan is a part, and yet it was done at the instance of Bobby Kennedy, who later became a great friend of King's, notwithstanding he knew all the facts, as I kept him advised as well as every Attorney General since.

Mr. Noyes said there is one thing about this I should consider and that is that he has the gist of what is in these things from me, but I will be

Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, DeLoach, Sullivan, Bishop June 19, 1969

asked immediately to release them textually. He said he thought I ought to do it. I told him I would have to get the authority of the Attorney General for that. Mr. Noyes said that is another problem, but the text ought to come out. He said it is very well for me to say what is in them, but the text ought to come out. I told him I realized that. He said he thought once before we had put out photostats.

I told him a Congressman, Gross, made inquiry in regard to some of Kennedy's authorizations before he died and after he left the Attorney Generalship. I said he denied he had approved certain authorizations and I sent to the Congressman Xerox copies of the authorization signed by Kennedy, as he being a Congressman, I felt he was entitled to it, and then Attorney General approved. I said in this instance, if we get a request from a Congressman or Senator along the lines he indicated, I would submit it to the Attorney General with my recommendation. Mr. Noyes said I was going to get an immediate request -- within the next couple of hours or as soon as he can get this out -- from every news media for the text. I told him these were confidential documents of the Department and can only be released as to the text by the Attorney General.

Mr. Noyes thanked me.

1:08 PM

I returned a call from Mr. Newbold Noyes and he told me he very much appreciated my calling him back. He said he realized after we were finished talking that there was this one rather crucial question that he had not asked me and he did not know whether I could comment on it or not, but it seemed necessary to ask it; namely, whether the investigation of Dr. King did or did not reveal any suspicion of Marxist character. I told him I could not answer that question to be quoted. I told him I could say to him off the record and for his own information it did but I could not be quoted on that. Mr. Noyes said he understood and that I understood the thing that most concerned him was the possibility that it cleared him in which case it seemed to him essential that they put it in the story, but they will handle it exactly as it is. I said it did not clear him at all, but I cannot mention that because it would reveal the confidential character of the investigation we made. Mr. Noyes again thanked me.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

- 5 -

SSC LETTER 7/8/75  
ITEM # 20

*Retain*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: November 19, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*B'g Gardner*  
*5- Phillips*

I thought you would be interested in a resume of pertinent data concerning captioned matter, with particular reference to the communist influence on the 8/28/63 March on Washington. First, as to communist "participation," you will recall that at the 10/1-6/63 meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Party, Gus Hall stated that an estimated 5,000 communists participated in the March in one way or another. As to the number of Party members (here we are differentiating between communists and Party members), the following analysis has been made from reports received from the field. For the purpose of making this estimate, we considered as current Communist Party (CP) members any individuals who have been reported to be members of the Party since 1/1/62. The estimate, based upon our field reports, is as follows.

A total of 125 CP members from the territories covered by all field offices other than New York was reported as observed in Washington, D. C., 8/28/63. The New York Office reported a total of 37. The total for all offices, therefore, is 162.

We also had reported to us that an additional 67 Party members were observed boarding transportation media in the New York City area destined for Washington on 8/28/63. While it cannot be positively stated that these 67 were actually observed in Washington, D. C., it would be a fairly logical assumption that they did come to Washington, barring such unusual circumstances as a breakdown of a bus or buses or any of the chartered trains. We had no reports of such happenings. Therefore, if we were to add these 67 to the other 162, we could, with justified logic, estimate that approximately 229 Party members were in Washington, D. C., on 8/28/63.

REC-39 100-3-116-525

It is significant to note that among the current Party members who were in Washington were such national functionaries as Gus Hall, General Secretary; Joseph Brandt, Administrative Assistant; Phil Bart, National Organizational Secretary; James E. Jackson, Editor-in-Chief of "The Worker"; Arnold Johnson, Peace Activity and Public

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SFP:kmj  
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*File 100-3-116*

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

Relations Director; and Daniel Rubin, National Youth Director. We also had considerable information from the field concerning individuals who came to Washington, D. C., for the March whose current membership (according to the standards set out above) was not established but who were identified either as former Party members or as individuals having other subversive connections. For example, the New York Office reported, in addition to the current Party members set out above, that 18 former Party members were in Washington on 8/28/63 and 14 other individuals having subversive connections were in Washington that date.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information only. File.

*B*  
*J.S.*  
*g.w.*

*W.S.*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 2, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Cavanaugh
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTIONS  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

*5-10-63*  
*[Handwritten initials]*

This memorandum sets out the facts pertaining to the Baltimore Office's handling of captioned matter in connection with the 8/28/63 March on Washington. It summarizes explanations of Baltimore personnel for an apparent delay in their handling of this matter and recommends no further administrative action.

By several Bureau communications, both prior and subsequent to 8/28/63, Baltimore was alerted to the importance of obtaining and furnishing to the Bureau information as to the communist influence in the March on Washington. Baltimore submitted a letterhead memorandum (LHM) by cover of airtel 9/19/63, reporting information from a single informant, obtained 9/18/63, that 11 named Party members attended the March, and that one passed out 1,000 leaflets advertising a Party bookstore. Bureau review of LHM revealed that 4 of the 11 were informants, including the person who passed out the leaflets, and that Baltimore had not submitted any reports from these 4 informants. Further, the information as to the leaflet distribution was the first known to the Bureau. Baltimore was requested to submit explanations for the delay which apparently existed in Baltimore's debriefing of its informants and submission of information to the Bureau. It was also requested to furnish further details concerning the leaflet distribution which the LHM indicated took place in Washington, D. C.

Supervisor Maurice E. Garrison, Baltimore, furnished full explanation as to Baltimore's handling of this matter which he personally co-ordinated. Explanation reveals that Baltimore was on top of the situation in debriefing its informants promptly but delayed somewhat its report to the Bureau because the Party in Baltimore did not exert or attempt to exert any influence on the March. Those Party members that did attend the March did so as individuals. Further, the reported distribution of leaflets did not take place in Washington, D. C., but rather in Baltimore, in and around one assembly point for Baltimore participants in the March.

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*3/11/63*

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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA;  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS.

SAC, Baltimore, notes the ambiguous language used in Baltimore's LHM giving the impression that leaflet distribution took place in Washington, D. C., whereas it actually happened in Baltimore. He outlined the handling of this matter by his office which indicates that they were apparently on top of the situation. He also noted that the delay in submitting information to the Bureau was predicated on the belief that the information was not particularly pertinent because the Party membership participating in the March acted only as individuals. SAC states, "In looking back now, it is understandable that the Bureau would have preferred that it be furnished immediately, in spite of the fact that it did not add any significant information reflecting Communist influence in the organization of the March on Washington." SAC believes that no further administrative action is warranted.

OBSERVATIONS:

The explanations submitted by Baltimore plus the comments of the SAC reveal that Baltimore did debrief its sources promptly; and, that while it was somewhat slow in furnishing the information to the Bureau, the substantive aspects of this case have not been adversely affected. Further, the challenging by the Bureau of the information concerning the leaflet distribution served to arrest erroneous information from being disseminated. Baltimore has submitted a revised and more complete LHM dated 9/27/63 which has already been disseminated. It is believed that the correspondence had with Baltimore in this matter, particularly the necessity for Supervisor Garrison to submit an explanation, will have the desired effect of impressing the Baltimore Office with the importance of this matter and the need for diligent handling in the future.

RECOMMENDATION:

Concur with SAC that no further action is warranted.

*S*  
*JTG.*

*CWC*  
*RAA*

*10/1/63*

- 2 -

*Q*

*OK*  
*10/4*

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

September 5, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Simpson
- 1 - Mr. Gurley

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE  
 IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A source which has supplied reliable information in the past furnished the following information on August 30, 1963, concerning an informal meeting at Communist Party headquarters in New York City on that date. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, and leading party functionaries Jacob Stachel, Benjamin J. Davis, William Patterson, and Arnold Johnson participated in this meeting.

Conversation among those in attendance led to the issue of what could be done for civil rights legislation since the March on Washington was a success. Stachel urged that efforts be made to get labor unions involved in the "fight." Patterson called for demonstrations in front of press offices demanding editorials on the need to do away with filibusters in Congress. Arnold Johnson called for work stoppages and demonstrations in Washington, D.C., as an antifilibuster step.

Benjamin Davis urged the Communist Party to think more along the lines of mass movement of a nonpartisan nature. He said the struggle is for all Americans and that it has placed the American system on trial. Davis proposed that the Party have people demonstrate in Washington every day in the event of a filibuster in Congress over civil rights legislation. He believed it is possible to have ten million Negroes close down everything in this country as an antifilibuster move.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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SEP 5 - 1963

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SEE NOTE PAGE 2

EX 104 REC-83

CONFIDENTIAL

19 SEP 9 1963

GROUP 1  
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 declassification

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**The Attorney General**

He felt that some efforts should be made by the Party to force New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller to take an active part in breaking any filibuster which may develop in Congress. Davis referred to a recent article of columnist David Lawrence in the "New York Herald Tribune" wherein Lawrence decreed the March on Washington as a day of disgrace. Therefore, Davis called for a picket line to be placed around the "New York Herald Tribune" building.

It was stated that the March on Washington would be further discussed by these Party leaders on September 3, 1963. However, this matter was not discussed as planned, according to our sources.

You will be advised of any further pertinent information received regarding this matter.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

**NOTE:**

Classified "Confidential" since the information furnished by ~~NY-2362-S\*~~, if disclosed, could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof. This information was contained in New York teletype 8/30/63. New York ASAC Roney telephonically advised on the late afternoon 9/3/63 that this matter was not discussed at CP headquarters that date according to our sources there.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

SECRET

The Attorney General

September 4, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. Evans
- 1-Mr. Bland
- 1-Mr. Forsyth

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

A source that has furnished reliable information in the past advised on August 28, 1963, that Stanley Levison in commenting on the March on Washington that day singled out Martin Luther King, Jr., as the "man of the hour" for everybody. Levison stated it was marvelous how King handled the white and Negro question in his speech, completely repudiating "the nonsense" of Adam Clayton Powell and the Nation of Islam. Levison also said King measures up to his introduction as "the moral leader of America." Levison describes this as the "mark of a man." He further characterized King as a "pure guy."

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised in July, 1963, that Stanley Levison is a secret member of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and contributes funds to the CPUSA on a regular basis.

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- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

REC-95

EX 104

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NOTE:

Letter classified "Secret" because it contains information from confidential informants, the disclosure of which could prove injurious to the national defense, and result in serious damage to the Nation.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
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 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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 downgrading and  
 declassification

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

SECRET

The Attorney General

August 29, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Gurley

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
 RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Authorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

Agents of this Bureau observed in excess of 150 Communist Party (CP) members boarding various modes of transportation early on August 28, 1963, bound for Washington, D. C., to participate in the March on Washington. CP functionaries in Washington, D. C., during the March included: Gus Hall, General Secretary; Philip Bart, National Organizational Secretary; Joseph Brandt, Administrative Assistant to Bart; Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary; James E. Jackson, Editor of "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper; Arnold Johnson, Legislative Secretary; George Morris and Joseph North, members of "The Worker" staff; and Louis Weinstock, member of the National Committee.

Gus Hall arrived in Washington, D. C., on the evening of August 27, 1963. He was present at the March site from approximately 10 a.m. to 11 a.m., August 28, 1963, and at 12 noon, August 28, 1963, he departed Washington, D. C., by air for New York City. <sup>Foreign intel.</sup> After the March, Hall confided to a Party functionary that he then believed that he should never have gone to the March as it "could have been a cause for provocation." Hall did not further explain this comment. Hall claimed that one-fourth of the March participants were white and that the Party deserved credit for the white participation since the Party played a major role in pushing for white attendance. REC 14

Six representatives of Soviet news media were observed by Bureau Agents to be covering this March. Gus Hall and Party functionaries conversed with two of the Soviets who were engaged in photographing March proceedings and at random recording interviews with March participants. James E. Jackson and three other Party functionaries were observed at the March wearing "The Worker" press cards.

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 AUG 29 1963  
 COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
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- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
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100-3-116

LTG:SFP:rbm  
(14)

SECRET

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

GROUP 1  
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 downgrading and  
 declassification

AUG 30 1963



**SECRET**

The Attorney General

During the afternoon of August 28, 1963, Philip Bart and an unidentified white male were observed at the March site selling "The Worker" and two pamphlets written by James E. Jackson.

After the March, Bart, Davis, Jackson, Johnson and Weinstock engaged in a discussion concerning the March. High lights of their discussion included: they were pleased with the March and agreed it had been organized with great dignity; they believed the March would impress Congress; they were of the opinion that enough people participated in the March to shift any United States election; they believed that a rally of similar proportions on the subject of automation could advance the cause of socialism in the United States; and, a remark was made that the communists are now entering a period of peaceful cooperation with capitalism--the Government is no longer able to "smash" a movement such as this March. During the discussion, Weinstock remarked that there is a social upheaval all over the world and he cited Africa as an example. Jackson commented that the social upheaval in the United States is a peaceful transition to socialism.

Observations noted above were made in each instance by Bureau Agents and other information was supplied by sources who have furnished reliable information in the past. You will be promptly advised as additional information is received concerning this matter.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

- 2 -

**SECRET**

SECRET

The Attorney General

NOTE:

See memorandum Baumgardner to W. C. Sullivan, captioned "March on Washington, August 28, 1963, Possible Subversive Influence," dated 8/29/63, LTG:SFP:rbm.

*FOR. INTEL. OP.* Classified "Secret" as information included is from NY 694-S\* obtained in private discussion with Gus Hall. ~~The unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal our source and thus result in serious damage to the Nation.~~ Information obtained from Washington Field Office airtels (2) and letterhead memoranda (2), 8/28/63, and phone call from Assistant Special Agent in Charge Roney of New York Office to F. J. Baumgardner at the Bureau 8/28/63.

- 3 -

SECRET

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
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- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS* DATE: August 29, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Gurley

SUBJECT: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE

*Baumgardner*

This is a preliminary memorandum of information available as of early a.m. 8/29/63 concerning communist activities relative to the March on Washington, 8/28/63. We had a number of informants from various cities at the March who were unable, for security reasons, to report to the Bureau while still in Washington, D. C. (WDC). We are expediting debriefing of these informants by our field offices after which a comprehensive memorandum will further inform you.

Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), Members in Attendance

As of the morning of the March we had reports indicating that almost 200 CPUSA members planned to attend. While most were to be from New York City (NYC) and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, other areas such as Upstate New York, Maryland, New Jersey, Western Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Colorado, Oregon, Washington and California were to be represented. Bureau offices reported observing in excess of 150 Party members boarding various modes of transportation early on 8/28/63 bound for WDC. Number observed does not necessarily include all Party members attending since complete information yet to be obtained. Washington Field Office Agents identified Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, and several other national Party functionaries at March.

Gus Hall's Activities and Observations Relative to March

Although Gus Hall interrupted a Maine vacation to arrive in WDC the evening of 8/27/63, he was present at March site only from approximately 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. and enplaned from National Airport at 12 noon for NYC. Upon arrival in NYC Hall told NY 694-S\* that he left WDC immediately upon learning of the return to NYC of CG 5824-S\* from a mission abroad on behalf of the Party (Solo Mission 13). Hall said he saw a group of photographers trying to photograph him. Hall told NY 694-S\* that he now believes he should

*FOREIGN Intelligence Oper. REC-21 103-3-116-209*  
Enc. *9-29-63*

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Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
100-3-116

never have gone to the March as it "could have been a cause for provocation." (Reference to "provocation" not further explained.) Hall claimed that one-fourth of the March participants were white and that the Party deserved credit for white participation since the Party played a major role in pushing for white attendance. White noncommunist supporters and participants also claimed credit for white participation.

Comment: David Brinkley (NBC-TV) reported "maybe 10% were white." Similar estimate mentioned in local radio broadcast with attribution to Metropolitan Police Department. Press and police estimated March attendance at approximately 200,000.

#### Soviet and CPUSA Press Coverage of March

Six representatives of Soviet news media (Tass, Izvestia, Trud, Soviet Radio) observed covering March. Gus Hall and other national Party functionaries conversed with two of the Soviets who were engaged in photographing March proceedings and recording interviews with March participants at random. James E. Jackson, Editor of "The Worker," and three other Party functionaries observed at March wearing "The Worker" press cards. N.Y.  
D.C.

#### Sale of Party Literature

At various times during afternoon of 8/28/63 Agents observed Phil Bart, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, and an unidentified white male at 15th and Constitution Avenues, N. W., selling "The Worker" and two pamphlets written by James E. Jackson. N.Y.  
D.C.

#### Reaction of Party Leaders to March

A <sup>Restored</sup> (sensitive) source reported on a meeting held in WDC immediately after the March at which were present Jackson, Bart and other national Party functionaries, Benjamin J. Davis, Louis Weinstock and Arnold Johnson. Highlights of discussion included: they were pleased with March and agreed it had been organized with great dignity; believed March would impress Congress; opined that enough people participated in March to shift any U. S. election; a rally of similar proportions on the subject of automation could advance the cause of socialism in the United States; and a remark was made that the communists are now entering a period of peaceful D.C.  
N.Y.

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
100-3-116

cooperation with capitalism--the Government is no longer able to "smash" a movement like this March. During the discussion, Weinstock remarked that there is a social upheaval all over the world, citing Africa as an example. To this Jackson commented that the social upheaval in the United States is a peaceful transition to socialism.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached letter containing pertinent information set out above go forward to the Attorney General with copies for the Deputy Attorney General and Assistant Attorneys General Burke Marshall and J. Walter Yeagley. Separate dissemination is being made to the military intelligence agencies and the State Department. As soon as more detailed information is obtained from our informants who attended the March, we will expedite the preparation of a comprehensive memorandum to further inform you in this matter.

*W.C. Sullivan*  
*W.C. Sullivan*

*W.C.*

*Wes*  
*Wes*

*Wes*  
Assume C. P. Junction  
any claims are all private  
law!

*X*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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| Tele. Room | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Holmes     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Gandy      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WC*

DATE: August 27, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Denz

SUBJECT: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE

Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 8/22/63 set forth information pertaining to communist influence and participation in the March on Washington 8/28/63. The purpose of instant memorandum is to bring the Director up to date concerning the Party's latest plans with respect to this March.

Gas Hall, leader of the Communist Party (CP), USA, has now decided to participate in this March. Hall plans to participate quietly and with no publicity. As an example of the Party's desire to participate in the March under a veil of secrecy, nine Party functionaries, headed by James E. Jackson, Editor-in-Chief of "The Worker," east coast communist publication, are attempting to gain accreditation as "press representatives" of "The Worker" rather than as March participants.

*Dept advised*

Information available to us as of 8/27/63 indicates that in excess of 100 CP members plan to participate in this March. While the majority of these individuals will come from the New York and Philadelphia areas, individuals in such widely scattered areas as Buffalo, New York; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Denver, Colorado; States of Oregon and Washington; San Francisco and Los Angeles, California; and the New England area plan to attend.

*Just infinitesimal!*

Information received on 8/22 and 23/63 indicates that it has been rumored among Puerto Rican independentists in New York City that the New York Junta of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR) (designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450) desires to have one of its adherents participate in the March and to join the March leaders who will be received by the President. If successful, this adherent, in the presence of the President, would attempt to create some unspecified type of disturbance to publicize NPPR demands for a free and independent Puerto Rico. Information concerning the NPPR has been furnished to the local Secret Service by our Washington Field Office and was promptly telephoned to Mr. John Nolan, Administrative Assistant to the Attorney General.

100-3-116

RCD:kmj  
(8)

EX-104 REC-44 100-971-992

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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE  
100-3-116

At this point, there is no information available indicating that the Nation of Islam, an antiwhite hate group, plans to participate in this March. Approximately six members of the Socialist Workers Party from Cleveland plan to participate.

All pertinent information received concerning communist influence in this March has been furnished to the Deputy Attorney General, Assistant Attorneys General Burke Marshall and J. Walter Yeagley, the military agencies and, where appropriate, to the Attorney General himself.

We will have sources in attendance at this March and any pertinent information developed by them will be furnished to the Washington Field Office and it will be appropriately furnished to the Department.

ACTION:

This matter is being followed closely and you will be kept advised of pertinent developments. Pertinent information received will continue to receive appropriate dissemination to the Department and military agencies.

*File  
L.S.  
SNC*

*Wef V*

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

August 27, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

*51*

**COMMUNIST PARTY, USA**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**  
**COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised this Bureau that on August 21, 1963, Clarence Jones of New York City discussed with Judy Franciosa, wife of movie actor Anthony Franciosa, the participation of a number of California celebrities in the March on Washington to be held August 28, 1963. Mrs. Franciosa indicated that she had talked to Senator Jacob Javits and his wife and that the Javitses desired that the California celebrities visit the Javits residence, 2713 35th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., at the conclusion of the March. According to the source, the Javitses have also invited the March leaders and some other Senators to their home for the occasion and the affair at the Javits residence would take place from 6 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.

Our source also learned that Mrs. Franciosa had stated to Clarence Jones that it was her belief that you and your wife would also be at the Javits residence for this affair.

Concerning Clarence Jones, it is noted that as of July 3, 1963, he was General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. A second confidential source, who has also furnished reliable information in the past, has advised that during late 1953 or early 1954 Clarence Jones was in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League, an organization which has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

100-3-116

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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 READING ROOM

MAILED 25  
 AUG 27 1963  
 COMM-FBI

AUG 28 1963

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO  
 SFP:kmj:mjh  
 (9)  
 AUG 28 1963

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
 GROUP 1  
 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification



CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

NOTE:

*FCUR* Classified "Confidential" as first source is ~~NY 4092-S\*~~, the revelation of whose identity could impair source's future effectiveness. This information taken from New York airtel and letterhead memo 8/22/63. The letterhead memo is being separately disseminated to the Deputy Attorney General, Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, Office of Naval Intelligence, Office of Special Investigations (Air Force) and Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (Army).

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 27, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
IS - C

*B. J. ...*

In a memorandum Evans to Belmont dated August 26, 1963, captioned "March on Washington, August 28, 1963, Racial Matters," it was pointed out that one of the greatest concerns of the Department is what action the Nation of Islam (NOI) may take in connection with the March.

All of our offices have been alerted for some time concerning the possibility that the NOI may take some action in connection with the March. All information developed to date indicates that the NOI does not in any way plan to participate in the March on Washington. Nevertheless, in view of the concern expressed by Department officials, I called SAC Gillies of our Washington Field Office on 8/26/63 and instructed him to be especially alert concerning actions of NOI members in Washington with respect to the March. Again on the morning of 8/27/63, I talked with SAC Gillies concerning this matter. He stated that he had specifically assigned a number of Special Agents to cover the activities of the NOI. He said his office is keeping a very close watch on this situation; that informants have been alerted and that he will keep the Bureau immediately advised of any activities of the NOI in connection with the March.

ACTION:

We are following this matter closely and will keep you advised of developments.

FJB:lml

(6)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Gurléy
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

*was V. O. 100-3-116-158*

REC 31

AUG 28 1963

EX-103

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and it may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

60 SEP 5 2 1963

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 8-26-63

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "MEET THE PRESS",  
NBC TELEVISION PROGRAM, 8-25-63

*Baumgardner*  
*McCallister*  
*Leahy*

Captioned program was monitored by SA Ervin L. Recer of the Crime Records Division on 8-25-63. Guests on the program were Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Reverend Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They were questioned by panelists Lawrence Spivak, Frank Vanderlin, Nashville newsman, and Robert McNeil, NBC News.

The show produced nothing new and the FBI was not mentioned.

Wilkins was questioned generally concerning the August 28th march in Washington. He said he did not anticipate any violence during the demonstration, that if it did occur the Negro cause might be hurt but that the slight risk involved is outweighed by the benefits which will accrue. He said it was hoped the demonstration will lead to quick action by the Congress in passing the pending civil rights bill. Wilkins stated he does not believe "large scale violence" will occur if Congress does not pass this bill but he indicated colored demonstrations will continue unabated.

King was questioned at some length concerning Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director and Chief Planner of the march who was King's secretary in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from 1955 to 1960. It was pointed out to King that Rustin has admitted former membership in the Young Communist League and that he is known to have attended the Communist Party National Convention as an "impartial observer" in 1957.

King stated that Rustin renounced his Communist Party connections years ago and today "has no convictions" in this respect. He attempted to play down Rustin's role in the forthcoming march, stating that he has contributed some good planning to the demonstration but is not a chairman or one of the main leaders of it. King also stated that he does not think the Negro is moving too fast in the civil rights field, that this is a "social revolution" which has been largely peaceful and that it will continue to be that way.

1 - Mr. DeLoach

ELR:bsp

(4)

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69 SEP 10 1963

SEP 9 1963  
CRIME RESEARCH

M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach memo  
RE: "Meet the Press," NBC Television Program, 8-25-63

With regard to Bayard Rustin, the files indicate that he is one of the foremost Negro exponents of pacifism in the United States and has been referred to as an "expert on civil disobedience." He is an orator of some prominence and has delivered lectures at many universities and pacifist meetings throughout the country. He has been very active in picket lines and demonstrations and has agitated against military conscription and racial segregation. He has been arrested on numerous occasions in connection with these demonstrations. The files reflect that approximately 20 years ago he was a member of the Young Communist League, that he has attended Communist Party Conventions and in 1957 was an observer at the Communist Party National Convention.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*JAW*

*D.A.*

*V.*

*SRE*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. BELMONT

DATE: August 26, 1963

FROM : C. A. EVANS

SUBJECT: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
RACIAL MATTERS

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*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the cc list may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.*

At the request of the Deputy Attorney General, I met at his home Sunday afternoon with a group of Departmental officials who were discussing plans with reference to the August 28th march on Washington.

Some concern was expressed by the Deputy Attorney General as to the possibility that some group desiring to create an incident might take action which would provoke violence. It was suggested that if such a plan did exist the disruptive group might make efforts to either take over the public address system or at least sabotage it to preclude communication to the marchers by the march leaders. It was agreed the Department would have Army Signal Corps officers at the White House survey the public address system so that adequate steps could be taken to protect this vital facility.

Some concern was also indicated because of the indicated absence of James Farmer, the National Director of CORE, who is now in jail and who has refused to make bail. The Department is considering whether to take direct action to get Farmer out of jail and to insure his presence here. This is being considered because of information received by the Department as to the activities of a left wing element in CORE which has communist leanings, as well as another faction which has a loose association with the Nation of Islam group. Four persons concerning whom the Department has received suspicious information in CORE are Robert Gore, Norman Hill, a Mrs. Harrington and Bayard Rustin. It is noted that Norman Hill is the principal CORE leader in the absence of Farmer. Closely associated with this group but not directly affiliated with CORE are Marcellus Goff and Calvin Banks of the NAACP. The FBI was requested to insure that all up-to-date information received concerning these persons is promptly furnished to the Department.

*All Wash. Times DO 372, 116 AUG 30 1963 891*

Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach stated that he felt there would be only two groups that would have the organized potential and ability to cause serious trouble. He identified these as the Nation of Islam group and the communists. He asked that we intensify our coverage of these two groups on Monday and Tuesday, maintaining exceptionally close contact with our informants

1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. McGowan  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

and sources so that any current information as to plans would be available to the Department.

It was suggested that the Department should arrange to have a representative in contact with Julius W. Hobson, Head of CORE in Washington, at all times on August 28th. Katzenbach said that there was a Secret Service agent who is a Negro and who is very capable, and he proposes to have this Secret Service agent assigned to Hobson. The agent will have a pocket radio and will be in constant communication with the Metropolitan Police Department.

In this connection, Katzenbach felt we should know, although this has been maintained in confidence by the White House, that Secret Service agents will be mingling with the crowd on August 28th for the purpose of observing and keeping Secret Service Headquarters at the White House advised of developments.

Katzenbach also advised that John Nolan, the Attorney General's Administrative Assistant, will act as coordinator for him on August 28th, and current information from the FBI on that date should be furnished to Nolan telephonically.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN:

Current information as to the activities of the Muslims and the communists, together with any data on the individuals specifically named, will be expeditiously furnished to the Department in line with their requests.

*done*  
*Q* If contact has not already been made with the Secret Service, Liaison should do this so we can be assured that there will be no conflict between that organization and the activities which the Bureau will be performing on August 28th.

Close contact will be maintained with our informants and sources so we will be currently aware of the plans and activities of the Nation of Islam and the Communist Party.



The Deputy Attorney General

August 27, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Denz

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on August 23, 1963, that Communist Party (CP) members in Oregon Denise Jacobson, Larry Gordon, Martina Curl and Valerie Taylor were scheduled to depart Portland, Oregon, by bus 4 a.m., August 25, 1963, for the March on Washington. The cost of this bus was paid for by friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, although Portland CP members Don Hamerquist and Allen Silverstone reportedly contributed \$100 and \$200, respectively, toward the trip. Milford Sutherland, CP leader, Seattle, Washington, made arrangements for 10 to 15 unidentified participants from Seattle to ride in the Portland bus.

REC'D - READING ROOM  
 AUG 27 3 16 PM '63

A second confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on August 25, 1963, that J. C. Burdick, CP member, Seattle, solicited contributions to meet a Seattle commitment of \$1,000 in order to send a bus load of individuals scheduled to depart from Portland 4 a.m., August 25, 1963, to the Washington, D. C., demonstration. In addition, the Central District Youth Club, formed by CP members, was helping to raise funds. Fifteen persons from Seattle and 15 persons from Portland planned to be on this bus. State of Washington participants include Patti Rabbitt and Marian Wheeler, daughters of CP members, and William Learned, CP member. Burdick, who described the delegation from the State of Washington as including "lots of people on the left," commented that some of these individuals may take part in another demonstration, not further identified, sponsored by Reverend Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

MAILED 2  
 AUG 27 1963  
 COMM-FBI

100-3-116

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

RCD:kmj  
(13)

GROUP 1  
 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

134  
 AUG 28 1963  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*



**CONFIDENTIAL**

**The Deputy Attorney General**

A third source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on August 25, 1963, that Eddie Givens, Seattle CP member, planned to join the bus load from Portland, although responsible Negro leaders are concerned over his possible participation.

You will be kept advised of pertinent developments in this matter.

- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. John W. Douglas  
Assistant Attorney General

**NOTE:**

See Portland teletype 8/23/63 and Seattle radiogram 8/25/63. Sources utilized are PD 497-PSI, SE 717-S and Reverend C. E. Williams, racial source, Seattle. Classified "Confidential" because unauthorized disclosure could tend to reveal sources' identities, which could be inimical to the national defense interest.

The Attorney General

August 26, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Gurley

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On August 24, 1963, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past supplied the following information:

*Foreign Intelligence Operation*  
~~Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), Arnold Johnson, Ben Davis, James Jackson, Jack Stachel and Bob Thompson, top CPUSA officials, plan to attend the March on Washington, August 28, 1963. The plan of these individuals at the present time is to participate quietly and they want no publicity. According to this source, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, National Chairman, CPUSA, does not plan to attend this affair.~~

On August 23, 1963, another source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Roscoe Proctor, a member of the National Committee, CPUSA, and Party functionary on the west coast, plans to attend the March on Washington.

Further pertinent information received concerning this matter will be promptly furnished to you.

100-3-116

REC-32

100-3-116-132  
 AUG 27 1963

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

EX 10A

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

LTG: gp/kmj  
 (12)

MAILED 25  
 AUG 26 1963  
 COMM-FBI

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

SECRET

GROUP 1  
 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

- Belmont
- Mohr
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- Casper
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- Holmes

REC'D-READING ROOM  
 FBI

*W*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

SECRET

The Attorney General

NOTE:

Classified "Secret" in view of the fact information supplied concerning Gus Hall and other top CPUSA officials was received from NY-694-S\*. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could tend to identify this valuable source and have an adverse effect on the security of this Nation. Information concerning Gus Hall and other top CPUSA officials supplied by NY-694-S\* per telephone call from ASAC Roney of the New York Office. Information concerning Roscoe Proctor supplied by SF-1050-S\* on 8/23/63.

~~SECRET~~ | Restored  
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- 2 -

SECRET

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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TO : W. C. SULLIVAN *wcs - st 28*

DATE: August 24, 1963

FROM : W. A. BRANIGAN

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
RACIAL MATTERS

*W.A. Branigan*  
*B. G. ...*

At 12:25 p.m., August 24, 1963, Assistant Special Agent in Charge Donald E. Roney, New York Office, telephonically advised Supervisor Earl R. Stark as follows:

*Foreign Intelligence Operation*  
NY 694-S\* advised that he learned today that National Board of Communist Party, USA, (CPUSA) has decided that certain members of the National Board, headed by Gus Hall, will participate in the March on Washington. Other Board members who will participate are: Arnold Johnson, Ben Davis, James Jackson, Jack Stachel, Bob Thompson. According to informant some members of the New York State CP leadership, not identified, will also attend. The CP leaders will participate quietly and they want no publicity. Gus Hall who is vacationing in Maine will return in time for the march. Hall has scheduled a meeting with Arnold Johnson in Washington on Wednesday, August 28, 1963. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will not attend.

Above information being furnished Deputy Attorney General and Assistant Attorneys General Burke Marshall and J. Walter Yeagley.

ACTION:

New York is following this matter closely for further developments.

100-3-116

- 1 - (March on Washington)
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. Gurley

REC-28

*100-3-116-157*  
*See ...*

25 AUG 28 1963

ERS:gp

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53 SEP 4 1963

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
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- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: August 23, 1963

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: AUGUST 28TH MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
REQUEST FOR PRESS PASSES

Reference is made to Mr. Jones' memorandum to me dated 8/21/63 captioned as above. I furnished Guthman of the Department information regarding James Jackson, T. R. Bassett, Louis Weinstock, George Morris, Alvin Simon, Andrea London, Mike Davidow, Jack Stachel, and Jesus Colon on 8/22/63. I told him that obviously, contrary to what "The Worker" claimed, some of these individuals were not newspaper men.

Guthman asked my opinion as to whether these individuals should be granted press passes or not. I told him that was a decision for the Department to make; however, he should realize that the granting of press passes to these individuals would give them authority to pass through police lines and to participate in any situation which might occur on 8/28/63. Guthman replied that he knew this to be true; however, he felt that the theory of "Freedom of the Press," regardless of what press, would overrule my thought in the matter. I told him that we all respected "Freedom of the Press" but that we should also consider the fact that "Freedom of the Press" did not embrace the right to agitate, incite to riot, or take advantage of other freedoms such as demonstration. Guthman stated he had not thought of the problem in that matter.

Guthman called back one hour later 8/22/63 and stated he had talked with Ben Gilbert of the Washington Post who handles the screening of press credentials for the police department. He stated that he and Gilbert had agreed that the letter from "The Worker" would not be acknowledged. If James Jackson and his group of so-called "reporters" show up at the Metropolitan Police Department and demand press credentials for 8/28/63, Jackson will be given credentials but the remainder of the group will be turned down. I told Guthman that he, of course, should understand that this was the Department's decision. He acknowledged that it was.

### ACTION:

It is suggested this memorandum be forwarded to the Domestic Intelligence Division for information.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones

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REC-54 100-2-116-239

CDD:dgs

1 1/2 AEROX

5-Demo

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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TO : W. C. SULLIVAN *WCS*

FROM : D. J. BRENNAN *DJB*

SUBJECT: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
AUGUST 28, 1963  
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: August 22, 1963

Memorandum Brennan to Sullivan dated August 2, 1963, set forth information furnished by Army to the effect that Army plans to have 4,000 combat-ready troops alerted in Washington, D. C., in the event they are called upon to quell any disturbances on August 28, 1963, the date of the March on Washington. In addition, 25,000 combat-ready troops would be stationed at various Army posts on the outskirts of Washington.

Lt. Colonel John Downie, Jr., Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (ACSI), Department of the Army, today advised Liaison Agent that Army has now revised its figures and now plans to have 17,000 combat-ready troops stationed at Army posts on the outskirts of Washington. The number of troops (4,000) to be stationed in Washington, D. C., remains the same. According to Colonel Downie, Army also plans to have 20 helicopters in an alert status at Fort Meyer. Eighteen of these are to be used for troop lift purposes and two to be used for the dispersal of chemical and riot control munitions. In addition, there will be 29 helicopters in a standby status at Bolling Air Force Base for troop lift and chemical dispersal purposes.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Trainor
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Putnam

PDP:gp (8)

REC-12

157-970-534

17 AUG 27 1963

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

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| Gandy      | _____ |

# Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 8-22-63

*W.C.S.*

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
 AUGUST 28, 1963  
 POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE

*detached*

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

There is attached a memorandum which sets out the activity of the Communist Party, USA, and other subversive groups, in connection with the March on Washington scheduled for 8-28-63.

All of the information set out in the attached memorandum was afforded appropriate dissemination upon its receipt at the Bureau.

*[Handwritten initials: J.F., W.C.S.]*

*[Handwritten initials: S, B]*

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

*[Handwritten signature]*  
Enclosure

REC-44

100-3-116-230

100-3-116

EX-103

SEP 4 1963

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Denz

**SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED**

FJB:kmj:bjb  
(8)

*[Handwritten signature]* XEROX

SEP 6 1963

SYNOPSIS

SECRET

The March on Washington scheduled for August 28, 1963, which has created nationwide interest, is being actively supported by various legitimate nonsubversive religious, fraternal, civil and labor organizations. (u)

Current information developed as a result of our investigation of the Communist Party (CP), USA, activities does not indicate that this event was actually initiated by or is controlled by the CP. However, it is pertinent to note that when Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the leaders of the March, first conceived the idea of organizing the March on Washington, he discussed the matter with Stanley David Levison, a concealed CP member, and sought Levison's advice as to whether the time was right for such a move. Levison agreed "The time is now." The fact that King consulted Levison assumes additional significance in the light of information we received from a source who has furnished reliable information in the past to the effect that in May, 1962, a national functionary of the CPUSA commented that Stanley Levison, by reason of his association with the Martin Luther King movement, was doing the most important work in the Party at that time. With respect to Levison's Party connection, we received information in June, 1963, that although he still has strong communist convictions and still acts as an effective Party advisor to King, he has become critical of the Party's role in the civil rights movement. Levison said he does not consider himself to be under the control of the Party with respect to his dealings with King. (S) NN

The Party is actively supporting the March, in spite of its awareness of a public statement by leaders of the March that they did not want "any communists." CP support of the March is manifested by endorsement of the March in the communist press to foster the illusion that the CP is a humanitarian group acting in the interest of the Negro, and by Party leadership urging rank-and-file CP members to clandestinely participate in the March. This clandestine participation is a Party tactic which is apparently being used in order not to alienate the organizations sponsoring the March since the Party views this event as a golden opportunity to reach a growing powerful mass movement for Negro civil rights. (u)

The Party plans to distribute openly its literature, including 10,000 copies of a planned special edition of "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper, to March participants

*This only*  
*document reviewed by SA Mike Stenbeck 9/10/75*  
*SOLO DECISIONS NOTED BY SA STENBECK ON pg 3*  
*JTC*

Classified by 2333  
Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
*11-22-77 GAI/RDB*

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in various locations outside of Washington, D. C. In addition, the Party hopes to sell 10,000 of its pamphlets. No distribution of Party literature is planned in Washington, D. C., in deference to public announcements by leaders of the March that there is to be no literature of any type distributed in Washington during the March. (U)

Coverage of communist activity in connection with the March is planned at present through six Bureau security informants who are coming to the March with local groups. (U)

American communists in Mexico are supporting the March, including the collection of funds for the purpose of sending telegrams to March on Washington headquarters. (U)

Endorsement of the March has been announced by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) (cited as subversive under Executive Order 10450) and instructions calling for participation have been issued by the Workers World Party (WWP), a splinter group of the SWP. No information has been received to indicate that Elijah Muhammad, leader of Nation of Islam (NOI), an all-Negro antiwhite cult, or NOI members plan to participate, although as with any large Negro gathering, the possibility exists that some members of the NOI will march as individuals. (U) US

CP leaders have stressed the fact that the March is not the be all and end all in itself. Events which subsequently flow from the March will be of utmost importance, such as following up on contacts now being made by CP members working in support of the demonstration. Utilizing the March, the Party has three basic general objectives:

- (1) Participation by CP members through legitimate organizations.
- (2) Attempt to get the Party line into the hands of sympathizers and supporters of the March through distribution of "The Worker" and Party pamphlets.
- (3) Utilize the March as a steppingstone for future Party activity through contacts now being made by Party members involved in the March. (U)

It remains to be seen to what extent the Party will be successful in translating its efforts stated above into concrete results. (U)

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DETAILS

Utilization of the March to Further Aims of the Communist Party

The March on Washington scheduled for August 28, 1963, is an event which has created national interest and is being supported by such nonsubversive organizations as the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Catholic Interracial Council, State Association of the Elks and the Greater Philadelphia Council of Churches. The Communist Party (CP), USA, although it did not initiate nor is it controlling the March, is using this event for the purpose of promoting its own interest. (4)

It is pertinent to note here, however, the conversation. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the March leaders, had with Stanley David Levison, a secret member of the Party, on June 1, 1963. It is known to us that Levison and King have been in contact with each other since December, 1956. As early as September, 1958, Levison was described as one of King's chief assistants who spent considerable time advising and helping King. At one time, Levison and his brother, who is known as Roy Bennett, were organizers for the CP in New York. They are both currently known as secret members of the Party and in past years Levison and his brother, Roy Bennett, both have been heavy financial contributors to the CP. During the afore-mentioned conversation, King commented he had never seen the Negro community as aroused, as determined, and as enthusiastic as at that time. He said that "We are on the threshold of a significant breakthrough and the greatest weapon is mass demonstration." King added "We are at the point where we can mobilize all of this righteous indignation into a powerful mass movement." King suggested that there be a mass march of literally thousands and thousands of people on Washington. King said that even the threat of such a march might so frighten the President that he would have to do something. He asked Levison "Are we ready for that." In reply, Levison said two things would have to be considered: (1) There would have to be unanimity among all groups. (2) Would more pressure be generated on Washington by a series of local situations rather than by one mass march on Washington. King answered at length and was in favor of one mass march. He said he envisioned such an event would create such an impact that "something would have to give." He again asked Levison if the time was right for such a move. Levison then agreed "The time is now." (5)

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Clarence Jones, Acting Executive Director of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, who was a participant in the conversation, suggested that King discuss his proposal with Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP, and A. Philip Randolph, President of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, before any announcement is made publicly concerning a mass march on Washington. At that point, King suggested that either Levison or Jones see A. Philip Randolph and that a statement be worked out along the lines of the new militancy throughout the country. (S)

During the discussion, it was indicated that Clarence Jones had attended a meeting at which the National Council of Churches had expressed an interest in King's direct action approach. Levison asked Jones whether it would be possible to quote individuals without mentioning names who had attended the meeting as "this is new when white church leadership is looking for something in the way of direct action." Levison said this would give it the biggest, broadest front ever as "you can see the effect of Negroes joined by the National Council of Churches and not just Negro churches." The significance of this conversation is apparent when consideration is given to the fact that when King first was considering a march on Washington, he discussed it in detail with his contact in the CP and sought the advice of this communist as to whether the time was right for such a march. Additional significance can be attached to this conversation in the light of information we received from a source who has furnished reliable information in the past to the effect that in May, 1962, a national functionary of the CPUSA commented that Stanley Levison, by reason of his association with the Martin Luther King movement, was doing the most important work in the Party at that time. Information received in June, 1963, indicated that while Levison still retains his strong communist convictions and still acts as an effective Party advisor to King, he is becoming critical of the Party's role in the relationship. He believes the Party has lost prestige among Negroes lately because it has not been sufficiently aggressive and effective in promoting civil rights for the Negro and otherwise immersing itself in Negro causes. Levison said he does not consider himself to be under the control of the Party with respect to his dealings with King. (S)

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the Party has blended itself into this "movement" and, because persons in the March will be listening to our people, the question now arises as to what can be done with these people after the March. (S)

From information we have received, it is apparent the Party anticipates that participation by its members in this event, which it feels is of great historical significance, will subsequently be used as a vehicle to reach a new massive force. Association with March sympathizers could well serve as components of a future picture painted by the Party, featuring itself as the champion of the Negro cause. (u)

#### Party Program

As early as June, 1963, some semblance of a Party program began to jell and was outlined in an article appearing in the June 23, 1963, issue of "The Worker." This article suggested a program based on a report adopted at a recent national gathering of communist leaders. It called for: (1) direct, mass, peaceful action pursued through the Negro people and their organizations; and (2) the support of white allies, beginning with organized labor. Included in the proposals were the withholding of Federal funds from states which deny constitutional rights to its citizens; a petition to the Supreme Court to set a time limit of January 1, 1964, for compliance with its 1954 decision on the desegregation of public schools; and, if necessary, the federalization of the State National Guards. (u)

By July 15, 1963, the Party had issued two directives "TO ALL (CP) DISTRICTS." One referred to an article in a recent issue of "The Worker" by James Jackson, which identified the "Dixiecrat" politicians and the "Northern Republican ultra-Rightists" as the enemies of the Negro movement. The "Directive" urged Party members to order reprints of this article for mailing to influential figures in Negro organizations, trade unions, fraternal orders and churches. The other "Directive" urged Party support of the March, which it described as "an event of the greatest historic importance." (u)

At a meeting of leading CP functionaries in New York City on August 1, 1963, William Albertson, member of the CP National Board, stated that the Party must show the best of everything including the best picket lines and the (S)

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best cadre fighting. He proposed that the Party open up a special headquarters in Washington, D. C. (This headquarters had not opened as of August 22, 1963.) At this same meeting, Jack Stachel, member of the CP National Executive Committee, commented that "we" decided that "we" will participate in the March by organizing a minimum of 100 people and by organizing pressure groups from New Jersey, Philadelphia and Baltimore. (S)

Participation of CP National Leaders

CP national leaders planning to attend the March include the following:

James Jackson, CP National Secretary for the South and Editor of "The Worker"

~~Benjamin J. Davis~~, CP National Secretary

N.Y. D.C.

~~Louis Weinstock~~, CP National Committee member and Business Manager of "The Worker"

N.Y. D.C.

~~Thomas Nabried~~, Chairman, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware CP District.

De Pa D

~~George Meyers~~, Chairman, Maryland-District of Columbia CP District.

D.C.  
D.C.

~~Samuel Davis~~, Midwest Correspondent "The Worker"

Mich. D.C.

~~Billy Allan~~, Michigan Editor of "The Worker"

Mich. D.C.

~~William Patterson~~, Chairman, New York CP District

~~Thomas Dennis~~, Organizational Secretary, Michigan CP District.

Mich. D.C.

Participation of Rank-and-File Party Members

While leaders of all major Party districts discussed participation in the March on Washington, actual organized participation is receiving its largest support in the New York City and Philadelphia areas. (U)

In New York the 11th Assembly District CP Club, which had been advised that the CP should not be directly identified with the March but should participate in other groups, was

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making arrangements by August 7, 1963, for rail transportation to Washington. Five members of the Club pledged their attendance. Three members of the CP Peace Club, Brooklyn, New York, planned to participate in the March and will travel to Washington by train with a group from the 17th Assembly District, Brooklyn, New York. On August 7, 1963, it was reported that 100 members of the New York City Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Womens Clubs, whose leadership consists largely of communists, will go to Washington by train. Steve Gordon, a CP member in New York as of January, 1963, is in charge of chartering a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) bus and recruiting persons to accompany the group. Jane Benedict, a member of the New York County CP as of March, 1959, and Chairman of the Metropolitan Council on Housing (MCOH), a federation of tenant organizations in the New York City area, announced that four buses have been reserved for the MCOH delegation and that both she and Frances Goldin, CP member in New York as of April, 1962, plan to attend. On August 12, 1963, information was received that a group of New Jersey CP members planned to depart Lakewood, New Jersey, by bus on the early morning of August 28, 1963, for Washington. The bus was chartered by an unidentified group.

In Philadelphia, the Independent Citizens Committee (ICC), which was initiated and founded by the CP of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware in October, 1962, decided on July 22, 1963, that it would take up the task of contacting people who would not be contacted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and CORE. The ICC pledged two bus loads.

The Ad Hoc Committee concerning the March, which was set up in Philadelphia by the Socialist Youth Union (SYU), July, 1963, the Philadelphia affiliate of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC), is now known as the "Philadelphia Youth Committee for Jobs and Freedom March." The PYOC was formed under the direction of the CPUSA, January, 1961, for the purpose of establishing a national youth group. The SYU expects to fill three buses.

In Detroit on July 17, 1963, Carl Winter, CP functionary, advised that the Party is not happy with President Kennedy's speaking out in favor of the demonstration since this will insure its peacefulness and diminish CP participation. In late July, 1963, William Allan, CP member, Michigan, stated that every Party club organization should try to recruit for the March

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and he hopes to see at least one chartered bus and several car loads of marchers from the west go to Washington. (u)

In Chicago, Illinois, Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the CP in Illinois and a National Vice-Chairman, stated in early August, 1963, that the CP of Illinois is attempting to get 500 white persons to go to Washington. (u)

In Los Angeles, California, at a meeting of the Jewish Commission, Southern California District CP (SCDCP), on August 5, 1963, a recommendation was made for the SCDCP to send a representative to Washington on August 28. Ben Dobbs, Executive Secretary, SCDCP, had stated on July 30, 1963, that the SCDCP would not directly support the March by paying transportation costs due to lack of funds. (u)

The Virginia CP State Executive Committee on July 14, 1963, proposed that work should begin on getting a delegation to go to Washington as participants or as onlookers. (u)

In Seattle, Washington, the CP leaders of the Central District Youth Club are attempting to raise money with an apparent objective to cover expenses of bus transportation for a group to attend the March. According to a source, NAACP leaders in the State of Washington are having nothing to do with the communists. (u)

#### Use of Party Literature

Much attention has been given the use of Party literature and a special edition of "The Worker" is being planned in connection with the March. Stachel, on August 7, 1963, proposed to leading CP functionaries that "The Worker" and other literature be distributed to delegations to the March. This was accepted but with the qualification that no distribution would be made during progress of the March. Louis Weinstock, General Manager of "The Worker," who originally planned to go to Washington on August 27, 1963, with 1,000 copies of "The Worker" in the trunk of his car, proposed, on August 14, 1963, that 10,000 copies of "The Worker" be distributed at bus and train terminals since there is to be no distribution in Washington, D. C. He also proposed that 10,000 pamphlets be sold at concentration points on the morning of August 28, 1963, and the remainder be sold after the demonstration. (c)

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Support of March by American Communists in Mexico

A group of American communists in Mexico are working actively to support the March. They have revived temporarily a defunct organization known as the League for Defense of Negroes and have been collecting funds to send telegrams of encouragement to the Washington headquarters for the March. Individual in the group are writing the telegrams and attempting to secure on them the signatures of well-known persons in Mexico. To date, they have succeeded in obtaining the signatures of a number of prominent personalities, including that of the former Mexican President, Lazaro Cardenas. Haywood Hall, described as one of the most militant members of the group, reportedly has left Mexico City already with intentions of joining the March, and Albert Maltz, one of the well-known "Hollywood Ten," reportedly also plans to travel to Washington to take part in the demonstration. (u) Mexico D.C. 11/17

FBI Coverage of CP Participation in March

Six security informants from various offices are scheduled to attend the March. These informants have been instructed to promptly furnish the Washington Field Office with all pertinent developments pertaining to communist efforts to influence the March. (u)

Subversive Connections of Certain Leaders of March

Certain leaders of the March have some subversive connections. This has been covered in a separate memorandum, Scatterday to Rosen, dated August 20, 1963, captioned "March on Washington, August 28, 1963, Summaries Re Principals Involved," a copy of which is attached. (u)

Participation of Other Subversive Groups

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), designated under Executive Order 10450, at its National Convention in July, 1963, officially endorsed the March as part of its policy to link the SWP with the struggle of the Negro people. The Workers World Party (WWP) issued instructions that all individuals attending the forthcoming national WWP conference in New York City should participate in the March. The WWP split from the SWP in 1959. (u)

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While there may be members of the Nation of Islam (NOI), an all-Negro, antiwhite cult which seeks separation of the races, participating in the March as individuals, as of August 14, 1963, there were no indications that Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the NOI, planned to be in Washington on that date or that the NOI planned to participate in the March in any way (u)

It is anticipated members of the NOI in Washington may attempt to sell copies of "Muhammad Speaks," NOI newspaper, during the March. (u)

Evaluation of Party Influence and its Utilization of the March

Realizing that plans for the March on Washington are obviously being carried on successfully by other organizations, the Party is making an all-out effort to take advantage of this opportunity to further its cause. The Party has three basic objectives:

- (1) Participation by CP members through legitimate organizations
- (2) Attempt to get the Party line into the hands of sympathizers and supporters of the March through distribution of "The Worker" and Party pamphlets
- (3) Utilize the March as a steppingstone for future Party activity through contacts now being made by Party members involved in the March (u)

It remains to be seen to what extent the Party will be successful in translating its efforts stated above into concrete results. (u)

W.C.S.  
*[Signature]*

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 22, 1963

FROM : J. A. Sizoo

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: MAJOR JOHN D. SILVERA (COLORED)  
 PUBLIC RELATIONS CONSULTANT  
 JOHN SILVERA ASSOCIATES  
 670 RIVERSIDE DRIVE  
 NEW YORK, NEW YORK

*S. D. Holmes m.c. Callahan*  
*to file*  
*B. J. Spence*

Reference is made to your memorandum to Mr. Belmont dated July 30, 1963, which indicated that you had met Major Silvera about a year ago while lecturing at the National War College and that he was again at the National War College when you lectured this year and came into the office to see you. Among other things, Major Silvera indicated that he was interested in the activities of the various organizations participating in the march on Washington on August 28 and that he would be in Washington at that time, in order to learn what was going on and help keep order. He indicated that he would keep us advised of any information which he learned and which he thought would be of interest to us.

In furtherance of his interest in keeping us advised, New York was instructed to make contact with Silvera last week. New York was in touch with him and he subsequently made available to New York a list of organizations participating in the August 28 demonstration.

ASAC Roney called me today and said New York had had further contact from Silvera. Silvera said he was still contemplating coming to Washington on the 28th and that it would be very helpful to him in moving around Washington if he could have a press pass made available to him. He asked that you be contacted in this connection.

I have talked with SAC Gillies of the Washington Field Office who is providing the Bureau investigative coverage of the August 28 demonstration. He advised that while he felt he had adequate coverage with Agent and other personnel he contemplates using, he said he could provide Silvera with a press pass and furnish Silvera the unlisted office number of the Washington Field Office agent whom he could contact in the event Silvera developed information while in Washington of interest to the Bureau.

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JAS:bjb;dju

12 AUG 27 1963

(5)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Command. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

XEROX

AUG 30 1963 AUG 28 1963

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Memorandum for Mr. Sullivan  
Re: MAJOR JOHN D. SILVERA

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed that in the overall development of contact with Silvera, it might be desirable for us to make a press badge available to him and without requesting that he function as an observer for the Bureau, give him the Washington Field Office telephone number and the name of the person to contact if he developed information of interest to the Bureau. In view of his acquaintanceship with Jim Jackson and Ben Davis and his previous suggestion that he might be able to defect Ben Davis, it might be desirable for us to develop a degree of relationship with Silvera for the long-range potential which may be present.

ACTION:

If you agree, I will call New York and Washington Field Office and arrange to put Silvera in touch with the appropriate person in the Washington Field Office and arrange for the issuance in the press pass in line with the above.

ASAC Roney  
✓ SA Sullivan  
advised to handle  
+ coord. at  
*[Signature]*

Wes.  
ABD

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : A. H. Belmont

DATE: July 30, 1963

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: MAJOR JOHN D. SILVERA (COLORED)  
 PUBLIC RELATIONS CONSULTANT  
 JOHN SILVERA ASSOCIATES  
 670 RIVERSIDE DRIVE  
 NEW YORK, NEW YORK

The above-captioned person I met a year ago while lecturing at the National War College. He was at the National War College again this year when I lectured there recently. Having in mind the racial tensions with which the Bureau is faced, in talking with him I suggested he drop by at the office when he was next in Washington. This he has done, and advised me as follows:

(1) Mr. Silvera informed me he is well acquainted with various members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He regards the officials and the national organization to be firmly anticommunist. However, he said he would like to advise me confidentially that, in his opinion, the officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the organization as a whole welcome the accusation and critical comments coming from the Communist Party, USA, and from Soviet Russia when they are directed toward the racial problem in this country. They welcome such criticism, he says, because they think it will stimulate the white Americans to solving the problem if it is exposed to the critical views of the Soviets and of Communist Party officials in this country. Mr. Silvera made it very evident that he does not sympathize with this viewpoint.

(2) In Mr. Silvera's opinion, the Communist Party of the United States now has the greatest opportunity it has ever possessed for making widespread inroads among the American people in this country. He believes that the thinking of large numbers of the American Negro has reached a point whereby it coincides with many propaganda themes emphasized by the Communist Party. Mr. Silvera believes that the psychological moment has arrived for the acceptance of communist propaganda to some degree by the American Negro.

(3) Mr. Silvera told me he believes it would be most helpful if a documentary film on communism was produced which could be shown in all Negro churches throughout the country. He thinks this would help somewhat to offset the sympathy building up toward communism in general.

MCT-1

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

WCS:djw  
 (6)

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: MAJOR JOHN D. SILVERA

(4) On discussing various views held by the American Negro as known to Mr. Silvera, he told me quite frankly that the American Negro does not hold the FBI in high esteem. I asked why this was so. He replied that for some reason or other both the uneducated and the educated Negro have received the impression that the FBI has favored southern law enforcement officers whenever they came in contact with Negroes and, further, that there is bias in the employment policy of the FBI relative to the hiring of Negroes. I clearly explained to Mr. Silvera what our employment policy is. Additionally, I pointed out the article on the FBI in the recent past in "Ebony" magazine, as well as other matters on the same theme. Mr. Silvera stated that all he was doing was reporting what is known to him concerning the Negro's outlook on the FBI and that while he did not share this view he felt he should report accurately and as it is known to him. Mr. Silvera went on to say that he has always had the highest regard for the FBI and, as a Major in the Reserve Offices of the U. S. Army Military Intelligence, he long has had great admiration for the accomplishments of the FBI in the intelligence field.

(5) Mr. Silvera told me that when he went through basic training in the Army he became very well acquainted with James Jackson, a Negro official of the Communist Party, USA. We discussed Jackson for some time. He indicated to me that he thought it might be possible for Jackson to be defected from the Party. I asked him would he be willing to try to defect Jackson. He said yes, he would, and also Ben Davis, whom he knows quite well. I told him not to take any specific steps until I discussed the matter with him again.

(6) Mr. Silvera told me that he has learned that the Black Muslims intend to join the big Negro demonstration to be held in Washington on August 28, 1963. I asked him if he had any specific evidence on this point. He said he did not at the time, but upon returning to New York he thought he could develop this evidence and would be very glad to furnish it to the FBI. Mr. Silvera also told me that he plans to join the demonstrations in order to help keep the order and to learn what is going on. He volunteered to furnish the FBI with all information of intelligence value which he develops prior to and during the demonstration. I thanked him for his willingness to do this.

A review of the Bureau indices fails to show anything of a derogatory nature concerning Mr. Silvera.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont  
RE: MAJOR JOHN D. SILVERA

RECOMMENDATION:

I will follow up with this man, having in mind the desirability of establishing him as a contact, if, on knowing him more, it seems that he could best serve the Bureau in this role.

*OK  
H*

*[Signature]*

*W.E.S.*

*[Signature]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*J.P.*

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| Gandy      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 8/21/63

FROM : *M.A. Jones*

SUBJECT: AUGUST 28TH MARCH ON WASHINGTON  
REQUEST FOR PRESS PASSES

*W.C. Sullivan*

*Byrd*

*[Signature]*

*3-6-63*

*[Handwritten marks]*

This memorandum is being prepared pursuant to your instructions following a call to your office by Mr. Edwin Guthman of the Department late yesterday afternoon.

Mr. Guthman advised that the Metropolitan Police Department regularly receives requests for press passes from newspapers throughout the country so that their representatives may cover special events in Washington.

He said that the practice of the Metropolitan Police Department in regard to these requests is to have Mr. Ben Gilbert, one of the editors of the Washington Post, screen the names submitted to the police to make certain that they are not objectionable and are acceptable to the Washington Press Corps.

Mr. Guthman said that in connection with the 8/28/63 march on Washington the police have received a letter signed by Eric Bert, managing editor of "The Worker" in New York, requesting passes for several individuals allegedly affiliated with the paper. This request was turned over by the police in accordance with their usual custom to Gilbert who in turn called Guthman to ascertain if it was satisfactory with the Department for such passes to be issued. In connection with these passes it is noted that the holders of such are allowed to cross streets, police lines, and are given other courtesies normally afforded other working press and not to the general public.

Mr. Guthman said that Bert in his letter requested passes for the following individuals:

- James Jackson - Editor
- T. R. Bassett (no title furnished)
- Louis Weinstock - General Manager
- George Morris - Reporter
- Alvin Simon - Photographer
- Andréa London - Reporter
- Mike Davidow - Reporter
- Jack Stachel - Reporter
- Jesus Colon - Reporter

REC-47/57-20-1000

EX-102

CRIME RESEARCH

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

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SEP 6 1963

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. DeLoach

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination to the press committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your committee and is not to be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

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M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach Memo  
RE: AUGUST 28TH MARCH ON WASHINGTON

All of these individuals, of course, are well-known communist officials and we have prepared a brief resume as to their identity and background. This is attached.

This attached data regarding these individuals has been furnished to Guthman by your office. Mr. Guthman has further been told that as far as the FBI is concerned we can see no reason why they should have the requested press passes or be furnished any other courtesies. It was pointed out to Guthman that the Communist Party, its officials and its members have defied the Attorney General and the United States courts by refusing to register as directed under the Subversive Activities Control Act. It was also stressed to Guthman emphatically, however, that a final determination as to any action must be made by the Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

*RM*

*D. J.*

*Da*

*AM*

*8/21*

JAMES JACKSON

James Edward Jackson is currently serving as Editor of "The Worker." He is also a member of the National Committee, the National Executive Committee and the National Board of the Communist Party (CP). Jackson was convicted on 7/31/56 of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1940. On 9/15/56 he was sentenced to two years in prison. This conviction was reversed by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals on 8/4/58 and the indictment against Jackson was dismissed at the request of the Government on 8/24/58.

T. R. BASSETT

Bassett is a member of the editorial staff of "The Worker" where his articles appear on a regular basis. They deal principally with the struggle for Negro rights throughout the country. Bassett regularly attends high-level CP meetings and functions in New York City. He has been a member of the New York State Communist Party Committee and has attended meetings of the National Board of the CP, USA.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK

Weinstock is currently serving as Business Manager of "The Worker." Recently he was in attendance at meetings of the National Executive Committee and the National Board of the Communist Party. Weinstock was convicted on 1/21/53 of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act of 1950. He was sentenced to three years in prison and \$6,000 fine. This conviction was upheld by the Supreme Court on 1/10/55. Weinstock was in jail from 1/11/55 to 5/26/57. On January 16, 1963, Weinstock was ordered by the Subversive Activities Control Board to register with the Attorney General as a Communist Party member under the Internal Security Act of 1950. This order is on appeal.

GEORGE MORRIS

Morris is on the editorial staff of "The Worker" and is an active member of the Communist Party in New York City. He is very active in all high-level communist activities and travels frequently throughout the country to attend affairs sponsored by the Party.

166 XEROX

SEP 6 1963

157-770-1000

ENCLOSURE

ALVIN SIMON

Simon is currently a member of the Communist Party in New York City and has recently been employed as a general office worker at CP, USA, Headquarters in New York City. He has, on various occasions, been employed by "The Worker." He traveled to Helsinki, Finland, on 7/26/62, returning to the United States on 8/30/62. During this time, he attended the Eighth World Youth Festival and toured the USSR as well as East Germany. He is presently being considered for prosecution under the Passport Sanction provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

ANDREA LONDON

This name has appeared as a by-line on numerous articles in "The Worker" during the past year, mostly regarding youth activities. It is probable that Andrea London is a pen name for one Annette Zelman, a known communist who has been active in several communist front organizations.

MIKE DAVIDOW

Michael Davidow is employed on the editorial staff of "The Worker." He has recently been in attendance at meetings of the Communist Party, New York District Board, and of National and state leaders. Davidow, in 1962, accompanied James E. Jackson, Editor of "The Worker," on a tour of college campuses and wrote articles lauding Jackson's talks.

JACK STACHEL

He is listed as a member of the editorial staff of "The Worker" and is a member of the National Committee, CP, USA. On 10/14/49, he was convicted in Federal Court for violation of the Smith Act of 1940, and this conviction was upheld by the Supreme Court on 6/4/51. He was sentenced to five years in a Federal penitentiary and a fine of \$10,000.

JESUS COLON

Fabian Jesus Colon is a member of the editorial staff of "The Worker" and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. A weekly column appears under his by-line in the Sunday edition of "The Worker." Colon recently has been in attendance at numerous high-level communist meetings.

XEROX

SEP 6 1963

107-7-2 1000  
ENCLOSURE

ERIC BERT

Eric Bert is Managing Editor of "The Worker." He reportedly is a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, and has attended numerous meetings of various Party groups. The May, 1962, issue of "Political Affairs" (self-described as the theoretical organ of the CP, USA,) contained an article by Bert which was extremely critical of President Kennedy's farm program.

DC - NY

L. L. D. XEROX

SEP 6 1963

157-7711-1000  
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 8-13-63

- 1-Mr. Belmont
- 1-Mr. Sullivan
- 1-Mr. McGowan
- 1-Mr. Baumgardner
- 1-Mr. Gurley

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*McGowan*  
*Trotter*

On 8-13-63 ASAC Roney of our New York Office called and stated that on 7-30-63 the New York Office had contacted A. Phillip Randolph, head of the Sleeping Car Porters Union, for information concerning the March on Washington. Randolph is Director of the March on Washington. At that time Randolph called Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director of the March on Washington, into his office and introduced him to our Agents. Randolph stated that Rustin would furnish the Agents with information concerning the March. Rustin said that he hoped he would have a chart available on 8-16-63 which would show information concerning the March, such as the busses and trains to be used by the various organizations sending delegations to Washington. The Agents thanked Rustin and told him that, if they still needed the information on 8-16-63, they would be in touch with him.

Roney stated that, in view of Rustin's background (he is reported to have been a member of the Young Communist League in 1936 and to have been arrested on a morals charge in 1946 and again in 1953 in addition to a number of other arrests), he recommended we not go back to Rustin for any information.

### OBSERVATIONS:

The press has recently published accounts of Rustin's former connection with communism and his arrest record. In view of this publicity, it is almost certain that Rustin will be called before a Congressional committee especially since he is Deputy Director of the March on Washington. I feel it would be embarrassing to the Bureau if Rustin were in a position to testify that he had cooperated closely with the FBI by furnishing us information concerning the March on Washington. Rustin would probably seize on such a statement if given the opportunity.

Therefore, I agree with ASAC Roney that no contact should be made with Rustin asking him for information concerning the March on Washington. We can obtain the necessary information through other sources.

100-3-116-106

REC-36

12 AUG 16 1963

FJB:jdd  
 (6) This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

*FJB*

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Communist Party, USA - Negro Question  
Communist Influence in Racial Matters

ACTION:

If you agree, ASAC Roney will be instructed not to  
make any contact with Rustin.

OK

WCF





D.G. 8/14  


UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |                                     |
|------------|-------------------------------------|
| Tolson     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Belmont    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Mohr       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Casper     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Callahan   | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Conrad     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DeLoach    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Evans      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Malone     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Rosen      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Sullivan   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Tavel      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Trotter    | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Tele. Room | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Holmes     | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| Gandy      | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 12, 1963

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland *JFB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

*W. H. ...*  
*F. ...*  
*R. ...*

Attached teletype dated 8/11/63 sets forth the results of the conversation between Martin Luther King, Jr., and one Ted Brown, not further identified.

Discussing the forthcoming "March on Washington" scheduled for 8/28/63, it was mentioned that Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, as well as the Attorney General are scared because of possibility of violence in connection with the march. Brown indicated concern as to the number of participants in the march from Washington stating that he felt the response was not going to be good. He suggested the best way to get them to participate would be for the President "to let them have a day off." Also discussed was possibility that some of "the Southerners," not otherwise identified, hope to expose one Bayer through a combination of trying to show past connections with the communists and involvement in morals charge. It was indicated that what they (the Southerners) plan to do is to challenge the statement that Attorney General made where he said that the civil rights leaders were not communists. Brown mentioned that "the Southerners" planned to call the Director and ask him or make him produce the FBI files on Bayer. Brown hoped Bayer "don't take a drink before the march" to which King agreed adding "and grab one little brother, cause he will grab one when he has a drink."

The Bayer mentioned above is possibly identical with Bayard Rustin, described in the "Washington Post" on 8/11/63 as Deputy Director of the committee planning the 8/28/63 march on Washington for "jobs and freedom." This article described Rustin as having joined the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936. According to Rustin, he broke completely with the YCL when the YCL accepted racial segregation in the Armed Forces after Hitler attacked Russia. This article also described Rustin as having been convicted in 1953 on a morals charge.

Rustin is reported to be an ardent pacifist, having been affiliated with a number of pacifist-type organizations. He has been active in numerous picket lines and demonstrations and other agitations against military conscriptions and racial segregation. He has been arrested on several occasions for activities in the above connection. He was convicted in 1944 for violation of the Selective Service Act of 1940. He was

100-106670

Enclosures

TDR: ccm/mea

(9) 55234

REC-4

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee, and the content may not be disseminated to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Memorandum for Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
100-106670

arrested for "lewd vagrancy" in Los Angeles County, California, in 1953. He was listed as an "impartial observer" at the Communist Party, USA, National Convention in 1957.

Rustin was the principal speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist organization, in Portland, Oregon, 10/6/50. A confidential informant of the Portland Office who was in attendance reported that Rustin in reply to a direct question from a member of the audience stated that he formerly was a member of the Communist Party but no longer so affiliated.

Reports and memoranda concerning Rustin have previously been forwarded to the Department.

ACTION:

There is attached a proposed letter to the Attorney General containing as an enclosure a summary of information contained in Bureau files regarding Rustin, copies designated for Deputy Attorney General, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall and Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley.

*JCR*  
*gms*  
*Wey*  
*Keyne*  
*W.A. P/12*



INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 8/12 63

Martin Luther King, Jr., in conversation with one Ted Brown (not further identified) discussed march on Washington and concern of Burke Marshall and Attorney General. Discussed attempt by "the Southerners" to expose one "Bayer" because of connection with communists and morals charge. Bayer possibly identical with Bayard Rustin described as Deputy Director of march on Washington committee. Rustin admitted former communist, has been convicted on morals charges. Dissemination being made to Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, and Assistant Attorney Generals Marshall and Yeagley. with

*background on Rustin.*

*WA 8/12 Q*

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

URGENT 8-11-63 -1- 4-40 AM AM JCM  
TO DIRECTOR 100-106670 AND SAC ATLANTA 100-5586  
FROM SAC NEW YORK ~~100-136585~~  
MARTIN LUTHER KING

SM-C SECURITY MATTER-COMMUNIST

OO ATLANTA

RE NY TELEPHONE CALL TO BUREAU 2-20 PM 8-10-63

NY 4099- S ASTERISK PAREN RELIABLE PAREN ADVISED ON EIGHT TEN

LAST THAT DURING A CONVERSATION BETWEEN TED BROWN PAREN PHONETIC PAREN AND KING ON SAME DATE BOTH DISCUSSED IN GENERALITIES THE QUOTE MARCH ON WASHINGTON UNQUOTE. DURING THIS CONVERSATION TED TOLD KING YOUR BOY BERT MARSHALL IS SCARED STIFF AND SO IS THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. TED SAID THAT THEY ALL ARE SCARED IN WASHINGTON BECAUSE POSSIBILITY OF VIOLENCE.

LATER IN CONVERSATION TED TOLD KING HE WAS LEARY OF NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS IN QUOTE MARCH UNQUOTE FROM WASHINGTON AND FELT THE RESPONSE WAS NOT GOING TO BE GOOD. TED SAID BEST WAY TO GET THEM TO PARTICIPATE WOULD BE FOR THE PRESIDENT TO LET THEM HAVE A HALF DAY OFF.

DURING CONVERSATION KING ASKED IF TED HAD HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT AN ATTEMPT BEING MADE BY SOME OF THE SOUTHERNERS TO EXPOSE BAYER PAREN PHONETIC PAREN.

END PAGE ONE

REC-4 100-106670-189  
AUG 26 1963  
MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

PAGE TWO

TED SAID HE HAD AND THAT THIS IS GOING TO HAPPEN AND HE THINKS  
QUOTE THEY ARE GOING TO MAKE A HELL OF A MESS OF IT UNQUOTE .  
PAREN QUOTE THEY PAREN WERE NOT IDENTIFIED BY KING OR TED BUT POSSIBLY  
REFERING TO SOUTHERNERS MENTIONED ABOVE PAREN . KING AND  
TED ALSO DISCUSSED A CALL APPARENTLY MADE BY KING TO QUOTE ADAM UNQUOTE  
PAREN POSSIBLY ADAM CLAYTON POWELL PAREN ABOUT A YEAR AGO AND A  
SUBSEQUENT RATING GIVEN BAYER BY THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION .  
TED SAID THEY ARE GETTING READY TO UNLOAD BAYER AND THAT LAST  
WEEK AN ARTICLE CAME OUT FROM THE NASHVILLE PAPER AND WHAT THEY ARE  
GOING TO DO

IS CHALLENGE THE STATEMENT OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL WHERE HE SAID.  
THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS WERE NOT COMMUNIST . TED SAID IT WAS ALSO  
MENTIONED THAT THE SOUTHERNERS ARE GOING TO CALL  
J. EDGAR HOOVER AND ASK HIM OR MAKE HIM PRODUCE THE FBI FILES ON BAYER  
AND THAT IS THE WAY THEY ARE GOING  
TO DO IT. PAREN PRESUMABLY THIS REFERS TO METHOD IN WHICH THEY  
INTEND TO DISCREDIT ATTORNEY GENERAL PAREN . KING ADDED IT WILL BE  
A COMBINATION OF TRYING TO SHOW PAST CONNECTIONS WITH THE  
COMMUNISTS AND MORALS CHARGE.

TED SAID HE HOPED BAYER DON- T TAKE A DRINK BEFORE THE QUOTE  
MARCH UNQUOTE .

KING AGREED AND ADDED AND GRAB ONE LITTLE BROTHER , CAUSE HE WILL  
GRAB ONE WHEN HE HAS A DRINK.

IT IS NOTED INFORMANT NOT FAMILIAR  
WITH FULL NAME OF ADAM OR  
BAYER. POSSIBLY BAYER IS BAYARD RUSTIN, DIIRECTOR OF HEADQUARTERS  
OF MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

LHM FOLLOWS .

CORRECTION NY FILE NUMBER IS 100-136585

END & - 4-07 AM NY - 1-1-55 WA LVS

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

August 12, 1963

Director, FBI

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth

On August 10, 1963, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that King held a discussion with one Ted Brown, not further identified, concerning the "March on Washington" scheduled for August 28, 1963.

Some concern was expressed to the effect that the response to the proposed demonstration from Washington was not going to be good. Brown indicated that the best way to obtain participation would be for the President "to let them have a half day off."

During the conversation, observations were made about the possibility of "the Southerners," not further identified, attempting to expose one Bayer through a combination of attempts to show past connections with the communists and involvement in a morals charge. The observation was made that "the Southerners" intend to challenge a statement attributed to you to the effect that civil rights leaders are not communists.

Brown made the observation that he hopes Bayer "don't take a drink before the march." King agreed, adding "and grab one little brother, cause he will grab one when he does have a drink."

While not definitely identifiable, the Bayer mentioned above may be identical with Bayard Rustin, described in the "Washington Post" of August 11, 1963, as the Deputy Director of the committee planning the August 28 march on Washington. This article captioned "Organizer of D. C. March is Devoted to Nonviolence" describes Rustin as having been a member of the Young Communist League in 1936. The article attributes Rustin with stating that he broke completely when the League accepted racial segregation in the Armed Forces after Hitler attacked Russia. It also indicates that Rustin was convicted in 1953 in Pasadena, California, on a morals charge.

REC'D READING ROOM  
AUG 17 7 40 PM '63  
100-106670-179

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Malone
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

MAILED 25  
1963  
100-106670

CONFIDENTIAL

see note, pg 2

TDR:ccm/mea (14)

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification  
Unauthorized Disclosure Subject to Criminal Sanctions

AUG 13 1963

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

Our files indicate that Rustin is reported to be an ardent pacifist, having been affiliated with a number of pacifist-type organizations. He has been active in numerous picket lines and demonstrations and other agitations against military conscription and racial segregation. He has been arrested on several occasions for these activities. He was convicted in 1944 for violation of the Selective Service Act of 1940. Rustin was the principal speaker at a meeting held in Portland, Oregon, on October 6, 1959, sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In response to a direct question from the audience, Rustin stated that he formerly was a member of the Communist Party but was no longer so affiliated. He was listed as an "impartial observer" at the Communist Party, USA, National Convention in 1957.

There is attached a more detailed summary of information appearing in the files of this Bureau concerning Rustin. In addition, by letter dated August 5, 1963, captioned "March on Washington, August 28, 1963," the Deputy Attorney General was furnished one copy each of fifteen reports and memorandum dated from December 7, 1942, through May 10, 1963, concerning Rustin.

Enclosure

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley (Enclosure)  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

"Classified "Confidential" because contains information from a confidential source, the disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the national defense.

See memo Bland to Sullivan 8/12/63, same caption,  
TDR:ccm/mea.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth

August 12, 1963

BAYARD RUSTIN

The "Washington Post" of August 11, 1963, contained an article captioned "Organizer of D.C. March Is Devoted To Nonviolence." This article described Bayard Rustin as the Deputy Director of the committee planning the August 23, 1963, march in Washington, D.C.

Bayard Rustin was born March 17, 1913, at West Chester, Pennsylvania, and was educated at Wilberforce University and the City College of New York.

Rustin is reported to be an ardent pacifist and has been affiliated with a number of pacifist-type organizations. He has delivered lectures at various universities and pacifist meetings throughout the United States and in India. He has been active in numerous picket lines and demonstrations and other agitation against military conscription and racial segregation. He has been arrested on several occasions for activities in the above connection. In 1952 he became Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League, an international pacifist organization and has worked for this organization to the present time.

On February 2, 1949, the American Consul General, Bombay, India, reported to the Department of State concerning unfavorable impressions made by Rustin during a six-week lecture tour during December, 1948, and January, 1949. It was noted that Rustin spoke very unfavorably and in an inflammatory manner regarding racial conditions in the United States, with his public appearances and statements being highlighted and given an anti-American slanting in the Indian press.

Rustin was investigated by this Bureau for Selective Service violation in 1943 and 1944, when he refused to comply with the provisions of the act on grounds of alleged conscientious objection. During the course of this investigation

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

RECEIVED  
 50 PM  
 AUG 12

100-106670-178

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-158790

1 - 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

See note, pg 3

TDR: scp/pag

(13)

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and

ORIG to Attorney  
General, ccs to  
Deputy AG; AAGs  
Marshall and Yeagley

CONFIDENTIAL

Bayard Rustin

Agents of the New York Office observed Rustin acting as Chairman of a pacifist-type meeting in New York City on February 12, 1943, during the course of which he urged men in the audience to come out on the stage and burn their draft cards. Rustin pleaded guilty on February 17, 1944, to an indictment charging violation of the Selective Service Act of 1940 and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on that date. He was conditionally released from prison on June 11, 1946.

In addition to the above arrest and conviction, it has been reported that at different times during the period 1946 to 1953 Rustin was arrested for such charges as disorderly conduct, New York City; violating local bus laws in Raleigh, North Carolina; picketing the French Embassy, Washington, D. C.; and for "lewd vagrancy" in Los Angeles County, California, in 1953, a charge of which he was convicted and sentenced to sixty days in prison. He was also reportedly arrested by the New York City Police Department in 1946 for offering to commit a lewd or indecent act. The disposition of this arrest is not known.

He reportedly accompanied four American pacifists to Africa in late 1959 to protest against hydrogen bomb tests by French authorities. He had in April, 1958, accompanied a small group of American pacifists to England to protest production of nuclear weapons. While this group was in England they participated in public demonstrations and attempted interviews with high-ranking government officials.

Bayard Rustin, described as Chairman of the War Resisters League, spoke before a public meeting of the Monroe Defense Committee held in New York City on October 5, 1961, in which he advocated militant aggressive action by the Negro people if there are no other means to procure equality. Rustin stated that there had been a breakdown in law enforcement on a national, state, county and local level in the South and that it was not only the right but the duty of Negro people to furnish the law enforcement protection themselves. Rustin stated that the Negro people should furnish this protection by armed force if necessary and by forming their own police force.

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Bayard Rustin

He said that this police force would not be recognized as such by state authorities but would be a moral police force with the right to bear arms, to stop, to question and to detain persons even though it was recognized that the state would call this kidnaping. These statements were made as Rustin believed that his former passive resistance had not been sufficient.

In the above-mentioned article appearing in the "Washington Post," Rustin indicated he had joined the Young Communist League in 1936. He claims to have soon dropped out of this organization breaking completely with it when the Young Communist League accepted racial segregation in the Armed Forces after Hitler attacked Russia. In addition to the above, according to his own admission, he was a member of the American Student Union in 1939 which has been cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Rustin has stated that he withdrew from this organization in 1940 to embrace the Quaker religion.

A confidential source of this Bureau reported attending a meeting held in Portland, Oregon, on October 6, 1959, sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation at which Rustin spoke. In response to a direct question from the audience Rustin stated that he formerly was a member of the Communist Party but no longer is so affiliated. Rustin, among others, was listed as an "impartial observer" at the Communist Party, USA, National Convention in 1957.

NOTE: See memo Bland to Sullivan dated 8/12/63 re "Martin Luther King, Jr.," TDR:ccm/nea. Classified "Confidential" because contains information from confidential informants of continuing value, disclosure of which would be prejudicial to national defense interests.

CONFIDENTIAL



Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

July 24, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Denz

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Enclosed herewith for your information is one copy each of Communist Party, USA, directives dated June 11, 1963, and July 11, 1963, containing instructions "To All Districts." The June 11, 1963, directive urges Party support of the August 28 (1963) march on Washington, D. C. The July 11, 1963, directive refers to an article appearing in the July 7, 1963, issue of "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper, written by James E. Jackson, Editor of "The Worker." This directive describes the article as a major statement bearing on the Party's policy in the Negro struggle. It urges Party members to order reprints for mailing to influential figures in Negro organizations, trade-unions, fraternal orders and churches. Copies of these directives were made available by Bureau informants who have furnished reliable information in the past.

W

REC'D - READING ROOM  
FBI

JUL 21 4 27 PM '63

Enclosures (2)

100-3-116

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley (Enclosures 2)  
Assistant Attorney General

REC-42

100-3-116-3

19 JUL 25 1963

NOTE:

Classified "Confidential" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could tend to reveal the identity of informants BT-222-S and BT-233-S, jeopardizing their future effectiveness and therefore be prejudicial to the defense interest of the Nation. See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan 7/24/63 "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question, Communist Influence in Racial Matters, Internal Security - Communist," RCD:mjh/kmj.

MAILED 2  
JUL 25 1963  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

RCD:kmj  
(8)

CONFIDENTIAL  
GROUP 1 NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification  
Unauthorized Disclosure Subject to Criminal Sanctions

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Evans      | _____ |
| Gale       | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: July 24, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Denz

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

*Baumgardner*  
*Evans*

This is an informative-type memorandum setting out further efforts of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), to exploit the current Negro movement.

On 7/15/63 BT 222-S and BT 233-S, furnished copies of two Party directives "TO ALL DISTRICTS," dated 6/11/63 and 7/11/63. The 6/11/63 directive urges Party support of the August 28 (1963) march on Washington, D. C., which is described as "an event of the greatest historic importance." The 7/11/63 directive refers to an article appearing in the 7/7/63 issue of "The Worker" by James E. Jackson. The directive describes this article as a major statement bearing on the Party policy in the Negro struggle. The directive urges Party members to order reprints of this article for mailing to influential figures in Negro organizations, trade-unions, fraternal orders and churches. "The Worker" article, which briefly comments on the major organizations of the Negro people, refers to the current Negro struggle as a revolutionary movement expressing itself in mass meetings, rallies, marches and sit-ins. The article states that the enemies of this movement are the "Dixiecrat" politicians and "Northern Republican ultra-Rightists" whose political power depends upon the continued disenfranchisement of the Negro masses. Jackson criticizes in this article the Black Muslim movement and states that the Nation of Islam serves the interests of the enemies of Negro freedom. Jackson attempts to show that any form of anticommunism can only divide the groups involved in the Negro movement.

EX 104

REC-25

100-3-116-64

OBSERVATIONS:

These directives are possibly an answer to the recent concern of Party functionaries over the lack of CPUSA influence and participation in the current Negro movement. By Bulet 5/17/63 all offices comprising the CPUSA Southern Region were alerted to Gus Hall's desire to employ an organizer for work in a current active integration group. By Buairtel 7/18/63 pertinent offices were alerted to Party efforts to influence integration-seeking groups. The Bureau will continue to take any necessary action to remain on top of this situation.

Enc. *sent 7-25-63*

100-3-116

RCD:mjh/kmj

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

ACTION:

Attached hereto is a letter to Assistant Attorney General  
Burke Marshall, copy to Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley,  
enclosing copies of Party directives dated 6/11/63 and 7/11/63.

*RCW*      *JHK*      *WES*      *V.*  
*LTC*  
*WES*  
*JW*  
*WES*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Casper     | _____ |
| Callahan   | _____ |
| Conrad     | _____ |
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| Eggs       | _____ |
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| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: July 23, 1963

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *wcs*

1-Mr. Tolson  
 1-Mr. Belmont  
 1-Mr. Rosen  
 1-Mr. Sullivan  
 1-Mr. Baumgardner  
 1-Mr. Kleinkauf  
 1-Mr. Decker  
 1-Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
 NEGRO QUESTION  
 COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Pursuant to Mr. Tolson's instructions there is set forth herein an outline of the plans of the Domestic Intelligence Division to handle any communist activity which may occur in connection with the civil rights March on Washington, D. C., scheduled for 8/28/63.

Although an official of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), stated at a meeting of CPUSA functionaries held on 7/11/63 that the CPUSA should finance people to go to the scheduled 8/28/63 March on Washington, D. C., there appears to be no formal organization or activity on the part of the CPUSA in connection with the March at the present time. At the same time, it would be unrealistic to disregard entirely the potential of the CPUSA to actively participate in the March.

By airtel 7/18/63 we instructed the field to be extremely alert to data indicating interest, plans or actual involvement of the Party in the current Negro civil rights movement, including the scheduled 8/28/63 March on Washington. In the event any communist groups are slated to participate in the March, we will attempt to have some of our informants accompany the groups to report on the Party's plans and activities.

All pertinent information received relating to communist participation in the March will be promptly disseminated to the Department and other appropriate Government agencies and steps will be taken to insure that the Metropolitan Police Department is apprised of all pertinent developments in this regard.

It is anticipated that the presence of 100,000 people in Washington, D. C., during the March will cause tremendous traffic congestion and may conceivably disrupt the regular mail service between the Justice and Riddell Buildings. In order to prevent any such disruption in mail service, we are taking the precautionary measure of having one of our stenographers on duty in Mr. Belmont's Office to handle any specials.

100-3-116

WGS:kmj  
(9)

*REC-15*  
 This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

*100-3-116-96*  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

We are planning to have complete supervisory coverage in the Domestic Intelligence Division during the period of the March for the sole purpose of handling any communist aspects relating to the March.

ACTION:

You will be kept advised of all pertinent developments in this matter.

*WES* *JHK* *WES* *JD*  
*JHK*  
*JHK*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *MB*

DATE: June 12, 1963

FROM : A. Rosen *AR*

SUBJECT: REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

|            |       |
|------------|-------|
| Tolson     | _____ |
| Belmont    | _____ |
| Mohr       | _____ |
| DeLoach    | _____ |
| Evans      | _____ |
| Gale       | _____ |
| Rosen      | _____ |
| Sullivan   | _____ |
| Tavel      | _____ |
| Trotter    | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Holmes     | _____ |
| Gandy      | _____ |

There is attached hereto a memorandum to the Attorney General and a letter to the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, setting forth information which we have obtained from a confidential source in New York. It pertains to the efforts being made by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Stanley Levison, a New York attorney and a secret member of the Communist Party as of March, 1963, and Clarence Jones, the Executive Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, and integration leaders Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker and Reverend Ralph Abernathy to hold a mass march on Washington which they feel will bring nationwide attention to the question of the Negro.

Previous information concerning this march was furnished to the Attorney General and to Mr. O'Donnell on June 11, 1963.

Enclosures (2)

RBL:kak  
(10) *Kak*

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

100-106670-147  
~~157~~ 20

REC-84

JUN 19 1963

EX-115

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

55 JUN 24 1963

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

June 13, 1963

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

There is attached for your information a memorandum prepared by our New York Office setting forth the details of the conversation between Stanley Levison and Hunter Pitts O'Dell on June 9, 1963. Also set forth in the memorandum is information concerning a conference between Levison, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Clarence Jones, Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker and Reverend Ralph Abernathy, which took place on June 10, 1963.

All of the above persons are more fully identified in the memorandum.

The memorandum sets forth information concerning the plans of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and others concerning a mass march on Washington which may be held in August, 1963.

A copy of the attached memorandum is being furnished to the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President.

Enclosure

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Herke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General - Enclosure

RBL:kak (15)

Kak

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MAILED 2  
JUN 12 1963  
COMM-FBI

REC-36

100-11-1-133

19 JUN 13 1963

NOTE: This letter is being classified "Confidential" since it contains information from sources the disclosure of which would adversely affect the defense interests of the United States.

See memo Rosen to Belmont, 6/12/63, RBL:kak.

CONFIDENTIAL  
NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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|---------------------------|--|
| Tele. Room                |  |
| Director's Sec'y          |  |
| Asst. Dir.:               |  |
| Adm. Serv.                |  |
| Ident.                    |  |
| Insp.                     |  |
| Intell.                   |  |
| Lab.                      |  |
| Legal Coun.               |  |
| Plan. & Insp.             |  |
| Rec. Mgmt.                |  |
| Tech. Serv.               |  |
| Training                  |  |
| Off. Liaison & Int. Affs. |  |
| Telephone Rm.             |  |
| Director's Sec'y          |  |

67 JUN 14 1963

CONFIDENTIAL

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

June 12, 1963

BY COURIER SERVICE

Monsieur P. Kenneth O'Donnell  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. O'Donnell:

There is attached for your information a memorandum prepared by our New York Office setting forth the details of the conversation between Stanley Levison and Hunter Pitts O'Dell on June 9, 1963. Also set forth in the memorandum is information concerning a conference between Levison, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. Clarence Jones, Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker and Reverend Ralph Abernathy, which took place on June 10, 1963.

All of the above persons are more fully identified in the memorandum.

The memorandum sets forth information concerning the plans of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and others concerning a mass march on Washington which may be held in August, 1963.

The Attorney General is being furnished a copy of the attached New York memorandum.

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
 Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

REC'D-READING ROOM  
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✓  
 100-56

EX-120

REC-84

19 JUN 13 1963

BY COURIER SVC.  
 55 JUN 12  
 COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,  
 J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: This letter is being classified "Confidential" since it contains information from sources the disclosure of whom would adversely affect the defense interests of the United States.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1  
 EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC  
 DOWNGRADING AND  
 DECLASSIFICATION

RBL:kak (11)

enclosure

*Kak*

62 JUN 18 1963

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Belmont *also*

DATE: 6/11/63

FROM : A. Rosen *AR*

SUBJECT: REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
 [Large handwritten initials/signature]  
 [Handwritten signature]

There is attached hereto a memorandum to the Attorney General and a letter to P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, concerning information which we have obtained from a confidential source in New York. It pertains to Stanley Levison, a New York attorney and a secret member of the Communist Party as of March, 1963.

King, Levison and presumably A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, apparently are going to join in a march on Washington which they feel will bring nation-wide attention to the question of the Negro.

The information also indicates that King knows of Jack O'Dell (also known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell) who is considered to be a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. King has asked Levison to get some statistics on the annual income of the average Negro family as against the annual income of the average white family. He apparently wants to use these statistics at a luncheon which he is to attend in New York City on the occasion of the commencement exercises at City College in New York.

ACTION BEING TAKEN:

A memorandum to the Attorney General and a letter to Mr. O'Donnell are attached for approval.

Enclosures (2) *sent 6-12-63*

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

AR:mpd (11)

REC-1

*Handwritten file number and date:*  
 100-106670-144  
 13 JUN 21 1963  
 [Handwritten initials and marks]

*Stamp:*  
 This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

JUL 15 1963 *new*

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

June 11, 1963

Director, FBI

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 6, 1963, that Stanley Levison, a New York attorney, had a discussion with Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., on that date.

As previously mentioned to you, another source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in March, 1963, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America, who contributes to the Communist Party on a regular basis.

On June 6, 1963, Reverend Mr. King inquired if Levison had had an opportunity to talk with "Phil," presumably A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Levison replied that Clarence Jones had reached "Phil" in Chicago and that "Phil" in general liked the idea regarding the mass march on Washington that would bring nation-wide attention to the cause of the Negro.

According to Levison, "Phil" wants to discuss this matter with Reverend Mr. King personally in view of the fact that Randolph's organization had planned a similar march in the fall and if any kind of a march on Washington is to take place now it would make the march in the fall by "Phil's" organization anticlimactic.

It was "Phil's" opinion that perhaps the ~~his~~ organization and that proposed by Reverend Mr. King can be joined in the immediate future. Levison suggested that King attempt to contact Randolph as soon as possible in order to discuss this matter in detail.

See cover memo Belmont

from Rosen 6/11/63, same

re.

RBL: cag

(15)

SEE NOTE ON PAGE 3.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
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- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
Subject to Criminal Sanctions

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REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

100-106670-145

MAILED 2  
JUN 13 1963  
COMM-FBI

REC-9

67 JUN 14 1963  
TYPE UNIT

CONFIDENTIAL

The Attorney General

Clarence Jones, mentioned above, is currently the Acting Executive Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights. Another confidential source has identified a photograph of Jones as the person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of, and in a position of leadership in, the Labor Youth League (LYL). The LYL has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On June 6, 1963, Reverend Mr. King asked Levison if Levison along with Jack O'Dell (also known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell) would be able to get some statistics on the annual income of the average Negro family as against the annual income of the average white family on a national level and also for some Southern states like Alabama. Reverend Mr. King would like to use these statistics at a luncheon in New York City on June 12, 1963.

Levison stated that he would attempt to get these statistics along with Jack O'Dell and pointed out that the main point on these statistics is that the gap between Negro and white income today is greater than the gap that existed between Negro and white income during the depression days.

A confidential source advised in July, 1962, that Hunter Pitts O'Dell was considered by the Communist Party, United States of America, to be a member of its National Committee.

Reverend Mr. King and Levison on June 6, 1963, made arrangements to discuss the above matters and other matters later in the week. Reverend Mr. King explained that he planned to return to Atlanta, Georgia, on the evening of June 6, 1963, and that he would be there until June 10, 1963, at which time he intended to return to Birmingham, Alabama. He plans to remain in Birmingham until June 12, 1963, at which time he intends to go to New York City for the above-mentioned luncheon and an appearance at the commencement exercises of City College of New York.

CONFIDENTIAL

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**The Attorney General**

The Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, is being furnished the above information.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General**
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General**
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General**

**NOTE:**

This memorandum is being classified "Confidential" because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the Communist Party, USA, and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

CONFIDENTIAL

Sec 1

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

June 11, 1963

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell  
 Special Assistant to the President  
 The White House  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. O'Donnell:

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 6, 1963, that Stanley Levison, a New York attorney, had a discussion with Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., on that date.

As previously mentioned to you, another source has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in March, 1963, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America, who contributes to the Communist Party on a regular basis.

On June 6, 1963, Reverend Mr. King inquired if Levison had had an opportunity to talk with "Phil," presumably A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Levison replied that Clarence Jones had reached "Phil" in Chicago and that "Phil" in general liked the idea regarding the mass march on Washington that would bring nation-wide attention to the cause of the Negro.

According to Levison, "Phil" wants to discuss this matter with Reverend Mr. King personally in view of the fact that Randolph's organization had planned a similar march in the fall and if any kind of a march on Washington is to take place now it would make the march in the fall by "Phil's" organization anticlimactic.

See cover memo Belmont from Rosen 6/11/63, same re.

CONFIDENTIAL

GROUP 1

JUN 13 1963

Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

SECURITY INFORMATION

Unauthorized Disclosure  
 Subject to Criminal Sanctions

RBL:cag;sjs  
 (11)

SEE NOTE PAGE 3...

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

BY COURIER SVC.  
 54 JUN 12  
 COMM-FBI

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell

It was "Phil's" opinion that perhaps the march of his organization and that proposed by Reverend Mr. King can be joined in the immediate future. Levison suggested that Reverend Mr. King attempt to contact Randolph as soon as possible in order to discuss this matter in detail.

Clarence Jones, mentioned above, is currently the Acting Executive Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights. Another confidential source has identified a photograph of Jones as the person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of, and in a position of leadership in, the Labor Youth League. The Labor Youth League has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On June 6, 1963, Reverend Mr. King asked Levison if Levison along with Jack O'Dell (also known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell) would be able to get some statistics on the annual income of the average Negro family as against the annual income of the average white family on a national level and also for some Southern states like Alabama. Reverend Mr. King would like to use these statistics at a luncheon in New York City on June 12, 1963.

Levison stated that he would attempt to get these statistics along with Jack O'Dell and pointed out that the main point on these statistics is that the gap between Negro and white income today is greater than the gap that existed between Negro and white income during the depression days.

A confidential source advised in July, 1962, that Hunter Pitts O'Dell was considered by the Communist Party, United States of America, to be a member of its National Committee.

Reverend Mr. King and Levison on June 6, 1963, made arrangements to discuss the above matters and other matters later in the week. Reverend Mr. King explained that he planned to return to Atlanta, Georgia, on the

Rev. Martin Luther King Jr  
CONFIDENTIAL

Ill  
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era  
Alabama 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell

evening of June 6, 1963, and that he would be there until June 10, 1963, at which time he intended to return to Birmingham, Alabama. He plans to remain in Birmingham until June 12, 1963, at which time he intends to go to New York City for the above-mentioned luncheon and an appearance at the commencement exercises of City College of New York.

The Attorney General is being furnished the above information.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE:

This memorandum is being classified "Confidential" because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the Communist Party, USA, and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 3 -